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ANNALS

OF THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION;

OR,

A CHRONOLOGICAL ACCOUNT OF

Its Principal Events;

WITH A VARIETY OF

ANECDOTES AND CHARACTERS

HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED.

BY

A. F. BERTRAND DE MOLEVILLE,
MINISTER OF STATE.

TRANSLATED

BY R. C. DALLAS, Esq.

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT OF THE AUTHOR, WHICH HAS NEVER BEEN PUBLISHED.

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ERE the middle of July there did not remain in the Capital the leaſt trace of the great indignation that had been raiſed by the outrages of the 20th of June. The Jacobins had ſo completely ſucceeded in *popularizing* them, that the proſecutions commenced on the occaſion were denounced as Counter-revolutionary manœuvres, or as acts of deſpotiſm. The intereſt that had been inſpired by the courage, moderation, and goodneſs diſplayed on that horrible day by the King and the Royal Family, was entirely extinguiſhed. The people were told only of the virtuous *Petion*, and pretended plots laid againſt him by the Court, the Royaliſts, the Ariſtocrats, &c. At the ſame time every poſſible means was uſed to procure him the good will and protection of the National Volunteers, who were daily arriving in crouds, either to aſſiſt at the feſtival of the Federation *, or in obedience to the decree which had ordained the formation of a camp of 20,000 men in the envi-

* Theſe patriots from the Departments were, at the requeſt of the Municipality, lodged and maintained by the patriots of the Capital.

rons

rons of Paris: for notwitſtanding the refuſal of the ſanction, which rendered it null, ſeveral Municipalities, influenced by the Jacobin Clubs, had reſolved to execute it; and the Aſſembly, when informed of theſe reſolutions, had ſhameleſsly beſtowed their applauſes on this manifeſt violation of that Conſtitution which they were conſtantly ſwearing to maintain completely. The Jacobins alſo were ever repeating the ſame oath; yet thoſe pretended friends of the Conſtitution did not the leſs exert all their powers to accelerate the annihilation of it, and particularly of the Monarchical part of it. This ſpirit was manifeſt in all the addreſſes which they preſented to the Aſſembly, and in thoſe of all the Adminiſtrative Bodies whom they influenced. I ſhall inſtance only that of the Council-General of the Commune of Marſeilles, which was read to the Aſſembly in the Sitting of the 12th of July, and in which were the following paſſages:

"Eternal Reaſon demonſtrates to us that "the laws relative to Royalty impoſed on "the Legiſlature, counteracts the Rights of "Man. It is time for the nation to govern "itſelf. How could your predeceſſors, the

" framers of the Conſtitution, have con-
" ſented to eſtabliſh that Royalty ſhould be
" delegated hereditarily to the reigning race,
" from male to male, in the order of pri-
" mogeniture? What has this reigning race
" done to be preferred to every other?
" Where is the ſage who can ſay that the
" ſon of the beſt of Kings may not be the
" worſt of men? Are nations to be ſacri-
" ficed to the monſters whom barbarous
" laws had placed over them? No; none
" but abettors of arbitrary power can main-
" tain ſuch prejudices. How infamous!
" The nation, at the time, remonſtrated
" ſtrongly againſt thoſe faulty articles ad-
" mitted into the Conſtitution. And what
" has this privileged race done? Have we
" forgotten the iron rod with which it kept
" us in ſubjection? What are its ſervices?
" It preſents only men loaded with crimes!
" Shall we confide in him, whom the habit
" of ſeeing nothing, and daring every thing,
" is hurrying into the footſteps of his bro-
" thers? What! when the nation is ſup-
" preſſing, deſtroying, and overturning all
" the monuments of tyranny and ſlavery,
" ſhall it bend the knee before a perjured
" family? And does not the duration of

" that

" that enormous Civil Liſt, which cannot
" be diminiſhed but at the end of every
" reign, perpetuate the means of corrup-
" tion which it gives? And is not the law
" which gives to the King alone the choice
" and diſmiſſion of the Miniſters, in ſpite
" of their pretended reſponſibility, an inex-
" hauſtible ſource of abuſe, treachery, and
" diſorder? And, in ſhort, as to that ſuſ-
" penſive *Veto*, oppoſed at the pleaſure of a
" ſingle man to our beſt laws againſt the
" general will, does it not radically deſtroy
" our Conſtitution? Confeſs, Legiſlators,
" that our Conſtituent Aſſembly have con-
" ſtituted nothing; and if you wiſh to be
" any thing, if you wiſh to anſwer the
" deſire of the nation, abrogate a law
" which renders it null; and let not
" thoſe wicked maxims, which inculcate
" that an hereditary King can repreſent the
" nation, be any longer ſanctioned, &c."

This ſeditious addreſs was applauded with rapture by the galleries, and chiefly by that in which the Federates were. Theſe provincial patriots were not initiated into the ſecret of the factious: they had a few minutes before ſeen a deputation of their comrades obtain great applauſe and the honours

of the Sitting, after pronouncing at the Bar an harangue which had appeared to them as ſeditious as that of the Marſeillois *. It did not ſtrike them that the harangue of the Federates of Bergerac only attacked the King, while the Addreſs of the Commune of Marſeilles tended to the total overthrow of the Conſtitution, and to inveſt the Legiſlative Body with Conſtituent powers, &c. That was indeed the ſecret plan of the Jacobins, but it was imprudent to divulge or confeſs it before the moment for putting it into execution, and that moment was not yet arrived; the majority of the Aſſembly therefore were ſeen riſing at once, ſome to move a cenſure of the Addreſs, others that the perſons who had ſigned it ſhould be puniſhed. Theſe motions created ſuch a violent uproar in the galleries, that the Preſident ordered the Commander of the Na-

* This harangue, which was delivered by a deputation of the Federate Volunteers of the little town of Bergerac, in Perigord, began with theſe words: "Informed of the machinations of a perfidious Court, "that it is at length time to ſtrike with the thunder "with which you are inveſted, the citizens of Bergerac "have haſtened to make a rampart of their bodies for "you."

tional

tional guard to place four centinels in each. This order did not allay the tumult, and ſeveral Members of the Aſſembly took a part in it.

" It is very aſtoniſhing," cried ſome, " that the Repreſentatives of the nation " ſhould affront the Federates who attend " their Sitting."—" It is very aſtoniſhing," replied others, " that the ſoldiers of the " law ſhould ſhow no reſpect to the delibe- " rations of the Legiſlators." At length, after a great deal of noiſy debating, which was, however, conſiderably curtailed by their eagerneſs to hear a letter from the King received by the Preſident, the Aſſembly referred the letter of the *Commune* of Marſeilles to the Commiſſion of the Twelve, and decreed that the report upon it ſhould be made next day.

The King mentioned in his letter, that, conformably to Art. viii. of Sect. 2. Chap. iv. of the Conſtitution, he had charged the Miniſter of Juſtice to deliver to the Aſſembly the proclamation made by his Majeſty on the Reſolution of the Department, by which the Mayor and *Procureur-Syndic* of the *Commune* of Paris had been proviſionally ſuſpended. The King confirmed that Re-

ſolution, and his deciſion was founded on the moſt ſolid reaſons, taken from the Conſtitution or the ſanctioned laws, and given with great force in the preamble of the proclamation*. It was heard by the Aſſembly with the moſt indecent marks of anger and impatience, and the Reader's voice was at times drowned by their murmurs. It was ſcarcely read through, when *Petion* appeared at the Bar and pleaded his own cauſe, not from any occaſion he had to defend it, for it was gained before he opened his mouth; but to revenge himſelf on the Directory of the Department, whom he accuſed, in almoſt every ſentence, of prevarication, impoſture, Ariſtocracy, Counter-revolutionary ſentiments, &c. "When "I read this Reſolution," ſaid he, "I "ſhuddered with indignation, and my ſoul "revolted againſt the treacherous hands that "traced it. I ſhould never have conceived "that one of the beſt actions of my public "life, one that leaves the moſt pleaſing re-"flections on my mind, could have become "a ground of perſecution." What a villain muſt he be, whoſe beſt action, on his

* Appendix, No. XXVI.

own

own confeſſion, was to have countenanced the outrages of the 20th of June! and what a heart muſt that be that had not more pleaſing ſenſations than thoſe communicated to it by the reflections created by that horrid day!

Petion expreſſed himſelf with no leſs impudence on his Majeſty's proclamation. "I ſay nothing of the King's deciſion," ſaid he, "the Department had done him a "good office by ſuſpending me; the King "does them one in return by ſtanding forth "to ſupport them. The Department in all "their conduct have diſplayed ſuch perfect "harmony with the views of the Court, "that their union of mind on this occa-"ſion is nothing ſurpriſing, and I cannot "but feel myſelf honoured by this deci-"ſion." This defence, too dull and too diſguſting for me to take the pains of giving it at greater length, obtained loud and frequent plaudits, which were redoubled when *Petion*, invited to the honours of the Sitting, croſſed the Hall and placed himſelf in the *Coté-gauche*, among his worthy friends and colleagues of the club of Jacobins.

The Aſſembly referred *Petion*'s ſpeech and the King's proclamation, with the papers

papers annexed to it, to the Commiſſion of the Twelve, with an injunction to make a report upon them at the next Sitting. This was preceded by the reading of the Argument* of the *Procureur-Syndic* of the Department, *Roederer*, on the Mayor's caſe. This paper was mentioned by the *Petion* party as a maſter-piece of diſcuſſion and method, adapted to throw a full light on this buſineſs; but the impartial eye of Hiſtory will, on the contrary, ſee in it only a precedent of pleading for great criminals. It will perceive truth through the coverings in which the *Procureur Syndic* laboured to envelop it by the ſubtilty of his arguments. Hiſtory will not admit, as he did, that the Municipal officers had done all that their duty required to prevent the riot of the 20th

* The word in French is *requiſitoire*, which is a part in conducting a cauſe unknown in the forms of the Engliſh Courts. When Counſel have been heard for each ſide, the *Procureur-General*, who is a public officer, enters into an impartial examination of the arguments on both ſides, and ſtates his own opinion on the caſe, after which the cauſe is decided. With us, this part of the *Procureur*'s duty is, to uſe a law expreſſion, merged in the office of the Judge. I am not aware of a more appropriate term than that I have uſed.

TRANSLATOR.

of

of June, by merely requiring the Commander of the National Guard *to make all the arrangements neceſſary for the public tranquillity.* It will determine, in the firſt place, that they ought to have enjoined him in the moſt poſitive terms, and on his reſponſibility, to uſe the moſt effectual means of force to prevent any riot whatever; ſecondly, that when the Commanders of the two Fauxbourgs on being ſummoned before them, had the effrontery to tell *Petion*, "that nothing could prevent the National "Guard and citizens from marching "armed," he ought to have repeated to them very forcibly the ſame injunction, inſtead of loſing his time in vague conſultations of the Department at the very moment that the mob had begun to collect; thirdly, that 25 or 30,000 Pariſian National Guards formed a force more than ſufficient to ſtop all aſſembling or to diſperſe it, and moſt certainly to prevent the breaking into the Palace, even without ſtriking a blow, by ſtationing eight or ten thouſand men in the Courts, and on the terrace of the garden, with orders to preſent their bayonets, and uſe no other reſiſtance againſt the mob than

than a firm poſition*; fourthly, that the Aſſembly, in permitting armed mobs to file off before them, had clearly infringed, but had not annulled the law which prohibited them; and conſequently that the breach of it was ſtill a ſerious offence, for which all might be puniſhed who could not avail themſelves, like the Legiſlative Body, of exemption from reſponſibility, and of privilege of inviolability, to violate all the laws with impunity.

The report of the Commiſſion of the Twelve was only a commentary on the argument of the *Procureur-Syndic* of the Department, and concluded that the ſuſpenſion of *Petion*, adjudged by the Reſolution of the Department, and confirmed by the King, ſhould be taken off. This concluſion, which was received with rapturous acclamations by the galleries, was applauded and adopted by the majority of the Aſſembly, notwithſtanding the ſtrong remonſtrances of the *Coté-droit*, who not being

* M. *Roederer* himſelf confeſſed in his Argument that he had ſeen a magazine of corn at Metz attacked by a mob of 6,000 perſons, and ſaved by 600 men ſtanding round it firm and without moving, but reſolved to keep their poſt.

able

able to obtain permiſſion for the papers to be read before the votes were collected, took no part in the deciſion*.

In order to make ſome little ſhow of impartiality in this judgment, and of diſapprobation of the outrages of the 20th of June, the Aſſembly put off deciding on the ſuſpenſion of *Manuel* till he ſhould be heard†; and in annulling the return of the proceedings to the Court as far as they concerned the Mayor and Municipal officers, they decreed that the Miniſter of Juſtice ſhould in three days lay before them an account of the proſecutions which had been inſtituted againſt the authors and inſtigators of thoſe events.

* The Members of the Directory of the Department being rendered completely unpopular by their Reſolution, all of them, except the *Procureur-Syndic*, reſigned their places a few days after this deciſion.

† He was heard in the Sitting of the 16th of July. His defence, compoſed no doubt in the delirium of the raging fever he had had for ſome days, was a mere tiſſue of impoſture, calumny, and groſs inſults, againſt the King and Queen. He delivered it with the accent and hideous contorſions of a man tranſported with rage. The more he bawled, the more was he applauded by the galleries and a part of the Aſſembly. He obtained, as *Petion* had done, the honours of the Sitting, but his ſuſpenſion was not taken off till the 23d of July.

The

The King, although he daily experienced the unfortunate effects of not having a fixed and determined plan of conduct, ſtill perſevered in his irreſolution, and in the fatal habit of adopting but partially the meaſures that were propoſed to him by thoſe whom he conſulted. The advice which, after concerting with M. *de Montmorin* and M. *Malouet*, I gave his Majeſty, on this occaſion, was to perſiſt in his refuſal of deciding on the Reſolution of the Department, notwithſtanding it had been returned to him by the Aſſembly, and to give for this determination the Conſtitutional reaſons I ſtated in the laſt chapter. This appeared to us the more prudent, as the King, if he decided at all, could not but confirm the Reſolution, and as that confirmation, adjudged at a moment when the enthuſiaſm of the people in favour of *Petion* was raiſed to a pitch of delirium, muſt increaſe the vexations and dangers of the ſituation to which his Majeſty was reduced. It would have been different if, on this occaſion, the King could have left Paris; but unfortunately he was engaged to be preſent at the feſtival of the Federation.

Thus, in ſpite of all our efforts, new errors daily accelerated the cataſtrophe impending

pending over the King and the Monarchy. I cannot but ſay that it required the immutable devotion and ardent zeal that animated us not to be diſheartened by the conſtant obſtacles thrown by the King's irreſolution in the way of all our meaſures. We thought nothing of our dangers, however imminent: deprived of every means of preventing the downfal of the throne, all our care, all our ambition now was, to ſave the lives of this auguſt family, who were perpetually expoſed to the weapons of aſſaſſins.

A few days before the Federation, I received intelligence of a deſign, formed by *Santerre*, to murder the Queen. From a deſcription given of the fellow that was to be the aſſaſſin, he was taken, but next morning, on the way to the magiſtrate's, he was reſcued by a band of ruffians. A minute was drawn up of the circumſtance, and left with the Juſtice, to ſerve as a proof againſt the murderer ſhould he appear again*.

The

* A fuller account of this deſign to murder her Majeſty is given in the Private Memoirs, Vol. II. Chap. XXIX. I have been ſince informed, that on the

The period of the 14th of July was rendered the more critical, as, on pretence of ſupplying the camp of 20,000 men, the Jacobins, as I have already obſerved, had collected in Paris, under the denomination of *Federates*, men choſen generally from among the moſt furious members of the Clubs of the Provinces: however, the feſtival of the Federation was leſs tumultuous than had been expected, and, thanks to all the precautions taken*, it was not attended with any danger to the lives of the Royal Family. The acclamations of *Vive le Roi*, leſs numerous, leſs ſpirited than uſual, were often drowned by the ſtupid vociferations of a crowd of banditti, who, not content with roaring out as loud as they could *Vive Petion*, *Petion or death*, had thoſe words written with chalk in large letters on the front of their hats.† Within the

the 10th of Auguſt a band of brigands broke into the Magiſtrate's houſe, and carried away the minute left with him, and all his papers.

* See Private Memoirs, Vol. II. page 347.

† As it was not poſſible to get the new dreſſes, decreed on the 12th of July, ready for the day of the feſtival,

the *Champ-de-Mars*, on the ſide towards the river, there was placed a poplar tree riſing out of a pile of wood: the tree was full of eſcutcheons, armorial bearings, mantles of ermine, &c.; and all its branches were loaded with coronets of the different ranks of nobility, with blue ribbons, and titles in parchment. At the top of this tree, which was called *the feudal tree*, were ſeen the arms of *La Fayette*. During the ceremony the pile was ſet on fire, amidſt the huzzas of all the ſpectators. It was ſaid that the King and Preſident of the Aſſembly were to have lighted it, had not the immenſe crowd that ſurrounded them prevented their coming near it.

feſtival, the Aſſembly and Public Functionaries all attended in their uſual clothes.

The new dreſſes were to be, for the Deputies, a tricoloured ribbon fixed in ſalteer, that is, croſs-wiſe, to which was to be ſuſpended a book of gilt metal, with the words *Rights of Man* on the one ſide, and *Conſtitution* on the other; the Adminiſtrators of Departments and Diſtricts were to have the ſame ribbon, with a medal, having the words *Reſpect to the Law* engraved upon it; that to be worn by the Members of Departments was to be yellow metal, and that for the Members of Diſtricts white.

Between *the altar of the country* and the military ſchool ſtood a funeral pyramid, in honour of the citizens who had died for their country on the frontiers. On one of the ſides of the pyramid was this inſcription: *Tremble, tyrants! we are riſing to avenge them.*

The brigands, who were called *the men of the 14th of July, or the conquerors of the Baſtille*, arrived at five o'clock in the afternoon, almoſt all holding one another by the hand, and forming, as it were, a chain from the Baſtille to the *Champ-de-Mars*. In going along, they ſung the moſt violent patriotic ſongs, and carried with them a printing preſs, with which at every ſtop they made they ſtruck off freſh copies of thoſe ſongs.

The King went to the altar to take the oath, inſtead of taking it in his place, as he had done in the year 1790. This condeſcenſion, rendered very hazardous by the elation of the moment, and the Revolutionary delirium, was greatly applauded: the acclamations of *Vive le Roi, Vive la Reine*, were almoſt unanimous, on their Majeſties leaving the *Champ-de-Mars*, and accompanied them from the Courts of the Military

Military School to the Palace. The concourſe of the Federates were leſs than had been expected: only 2960 had arrived, and of that number 2032 ought to have gone to the camp of Soiſſon; but the ſolemn declaration of the danger of the country had not incited more than fifty volunteers to ſet off for the frontiers.

Theſe circumſtances gave a little relief to the fears of a general confuſion, which the violent ferment of the Capital had raiſed; and the good news I received a few days after, relative to the diſpoſitions of the Emperor and the King of Pruſſia, revived my hopes. I thought all would yet be ſaved, if we could manage to counteract the plan of the factious ſufficiently to prevent the execution of it, till the combined armies had entered France. The different letters which *Mallet-du-Pan* wrote to me at this period was in ſubſtance as follows:

On the 15th and 16th of July he had had long conferences with Count *Cobentzel*, Count *Haugwitz*, and M. *Heyman*, Miniſters of the Emperor and King of Pruſſia. After examining the authority of his miſſion, and liſtening with extreme attention to the reading of his inſtructions, and his

memorial, they found that the views he held forth agreed perfectly with thoſe which the King had formerly manifeſted to the Courts of Vienna and Berlin, who had reſpectively adopted them. They had in conſequence placed complete confidence in him, and had approved in every point the plan for the manifeſto which he had propoſed to them. They had declared to him, in the moſt poſitive terms, that in the plan of the war there was no view of ambition, of perſonal intereſt, or of diſmembering the kingdom; and that the Powers had no other view or intereſt than that of reſtoring order in France, becauſe there could be no peace between that country and its neighbours, till it was delivered from the anarchy prevailing in it, and which obliged them to keep up lines of troops on all the frontiers, and to take extraordinary precautions that were very expenſive; but that far from pretending to impoſe any form of Government whatever on the French, the King would be left entirely free to act on that point in concert with the nation. They had aſked him the moſt circumſtantial information reſpecting the diſpoſitions of the interior of the kingdom, the public opinion relative to the old

old ſyſtem, the Parliaments, the Nobility, &c. They had confided to him that it was intended to form the Emigrants into an army, to be given to the King when he was ſet at liberty. They had ſpoken to him with diſpleaſure and prejudice of the French Princes, whom they ſuppoſed to have intentions quite the reverſe of the King's, particularly that of acting independently, and of appointing a Regent*. In ſhort, after thoroughly diſcuſſing the different requeſts and propoſitions which *Mallet-du-Pan* was charged to urge, the three Miniſters had unanimouſly acknowledged the wiſdom and juſtice of them, had each requeſted a memorandum or heads of them, and had given the moſt poſitive aſſurances that the King's views, which were perfectly conſonant with thoſe of the Powers, ſhould be ſtrictly purſued.

In my anſwers to *Mallet-du-Pan*, I tranſmitted him new inſtructions, which the King charged me to ſend him relative to circumſtances: and my letters contained

* *Mallet-du-Pan* ſtrongly combated this ſuppoſition, and obſerved that the intentions of the Princes ought not to be taken from the light or eager language of ſome perſons about them.

expreſs recommendations of all the peaceable citizens, whom his Majeſty deſired to ſee not only ſpared, but effectually protected, both them and their property.

The Jacobins were now plotting a more deciſive inſurrection; and a regular plan was laid, which was to have been carried into execution on the 29th of July, but fortunately the efforts that were uſed to render it abortive, proved ſucceſsful for the time. Convinced, however, that it was only poſtponed, I became more and more anxious that the King and the Royal Family ſhould quit Paris; and after conſulting M. *d'Hervilly* on the military preparations, I drew up a plan for their removing with ſafety to the Caſtle of Gaillon in Normandy, his Majeſty having poſitively declared to me that he would not go beyond the limits ſettled by the law *.

* An account is given of the plot of the Jacobins here alluded to, and alſo of my plan for the King's removal from Paris, in my Private Memoirs, Vol. III. Chap. XXX. XXXI. and XXXII.

CHAP-

CHAPTER XXV.

The real Danger of the Country—The Federates ſend a Deputation to the Aſſembly, with an Addreſs—The Exceſs to which ſome of the Jacobin Deputies were carried by the Deſire of annihilating Royalty—Their Fears of the Army—Mareſchal Luckner's Arrival in Paris—His Letter to the Aſſembly—The Jacobins charge him with Contradictions—Dumourier's Letters to the Aſſembly in Luckner's Abſence from the Army—Manœuvres to obtain a Decree of Impeachment againſt La Fayette—Luckner made

a Tool for that Purpoſe—Attempt to intimidate the King to recal Rolland, Servan, and Claviere—Formal Proclamation of the Country being in Danger—Patriotic Enrolments—Seditious Addreſſes to the Aſſembly—La Source's Motion reſpecting the Dangers of the Country—Decree of the Aſſembly, extending the Reſponſibility of the Miniſters.

THE Aſſembly had proclaimed the danger of the country, and it was but too real; but it was not to the coalition of the Powers*, nor to the religious troubles, nor to the ſlight Royaliſt commotion renewed at Barres, in the Department of Ardeche†, that it

* At this period arrived the friendly but negative note of the Engliſh Court, in reply to that which M. *Chauvelin*, the Miniſter of France, had been charged to preſent to it, to requeſt his Britannic Majeſty to uſe his influence with his allies, to prevent their acceding to the coalition againſt France. See *Appendix*, No. XXVII.

† M. *du Saillant* was at the head of this Royaliſt inſurrection; but his little army, compoſed of the wreck of the famous camp of Jalis, was ſoon routed; and he was himſelf taken and put to death on the 18th of July.

was

was to be attributed. It was neither the ſcourge of war, nor the calamities inſeparable from it, that was moſt to be dreaded; the ſcourge, a thouſand times more to be dreaded, of anarchy and of the deſpotiſm of the mob, which all the manœuvres, all the plots of the Jacobins againſt the King and againſt the Monarchy, tended to eſtabliſh, conſtituted the real danger of the country. They had already ſucceeded in rendering the Sittings of the Legiſlative Body as ſcandalous as thoſe of their Club, by the audacity and violence of the motions, petitions, and addreſſes daily introduced; and although the conduct of the King and of the Miniſters was as moderate and as circumſpect as it was poſſible to be, the Executive Power was forever the object of their declamations, and of the groſſeſt inſults.

It was thus that the factious, who were determined on a decree for ſuſpending the King, or declaring that he had forfeited the Crown, flattered themſelves to prepare the public mind for that grand crime. They attempted too to cauſe it to be conſidered as the wiſh of the nation. For this purpoſe, they kept in Paris all the Federates on whom they

they could depend, and engaged them to ſend a deputation to the Bar of the Aſſembly with an Addreſs, formally demanding the proviſional ſuſpenſion of the Executive Power in the perſon of the King; the diſcharge of the Staff officers, and perſons appointed to military offices by his Majeſty; the change of the Judicial Bodies; a decree for impeaching M. *de la Fayette*; and the puniſhment of the Directories of Departments and Diſtricts, ſaid to have coaleſced with that General and the Court againſt public liberty. Theſe demands were again and again unanimouſly applauded by the galleries. The *Coté-droit* broke out into violent murmurs of indignation, and ſeveral Members deſired that the petitioners ſhould be called to order. The majority of the Aſſembly ſeemed to diſapprove of this Addreſs, but that did not hinder the deputation's obtaining the honours of the Sitting; and after a ſhort debate the Aſſembly paſſed to the order of the day.

The only reſource the King had for impeding and delaying the execution of the plots formed againſt him, was to ſhow himſelf ſtill faithful to the oath of maintaining the Conſtitution, and to employ all

all the means in his power to enforce the execution of it; becauſe the great majority of the nation, not initiated in the ſecret views of the Jacobins, ſtill adhered to that Conſtitution which was perpetually invoked, believing the King to be inviolable, and that it was impoſſible to declare his abdication, or decree his forfeiture of the Crown, except in the caſes ſpecified by the Conſtitutional Act*. The Royaliſt newſpapers and pamphlets

* "The King ſhall be deemed to have abdicated the "Crown, if he refuſes to take the oath of maintaining "the Conſtitution, or if, after taking it, he retracts "it; if he puts himſelf at the head of an army, and "directs the forces of it againſt the nation, or *if he "does not oppoſe by a formal act ſuch an undertaking car-"ried on in his name;* if he leaves the kingdom, and "does not, on being called upon by a proclamation "iſſued by the Legiſlative Body, return to France." *Conſtitutional Act, Chap. III. Sect. I. Articles V. VI. and VII.*

The *formal act* required of the King, under ſo ſerious a penalty, was aſſuredly of ſufficient importance to require that the form of it ſhould have been expreſsly and invariably determined, yet no mention was made of it in the Conſtitutional Act. I will not take upon me to ſay whether this ſilence proceeded from a ſhallow inadvertence, or from the deepeſt perfidy; but too certain it is, that by leaving ſo vaſt a field open to arbitrary interpretations, means were provided for the King's enemies

to

pamphlets aſſiſted to ſtrengthen this opinion; and to the calumnies that were propagated againſt the King, oppoſed the proofs of his ſcrupulous adherence to the Conſtitution, in every part of his conduct, and of that of his Miniſters; but the more regular and circumſpect the King was in his meaſures, the more exaſperated were the Jacobins. They would rather that he had cauſed ſome patriotic Deputy to be aſſaſſinated, for that would have furniſhed them with the infallible means of determining the general inſurrection, which they wanted in order to enſure ſucceſs to the execrable plot which

to charge with inſufficiency whatever acts he might do in oppoſition to the hoſtile enterpriſes formed in his name againſt France. This *Louis* XVI. experienced on the occaſion of the proclamation, which he cauſed to be publiſhed and notified to all the Powers, to diſavow the loans, and the purchaſes of arms and ammunition made in his name by his brothers. *Briſſot* impudently maintained in the tribune, on the 19th of July, that that proclamation, not being written and ſigned by the King's hand, and having been notified by the Miniſter, and not by the King himſelf, could not be conſidered in any view as the *formal act* preſcribed by the Conſtitution; and this abſurd animadverſion was repeated a few days after in a multitude of Addreſſes, petitioning that the King ſhould be depoſed.

was

was to complete the annihilation of Royalty. It would not even have been difficult, among the moſt furious of them, to find ſome outrageous fanatic, who, to render an important ſervice to the Revolution, would not have heſitated to have had himſelf aſſaſſinated, provided his aſſaſſination might have been ſo contrived, as to be imputed to the agents of the Court. This is no vague conjecture of mine, but a fact not to be doubted, being eſtabliſhed by the free and ſpontaneous teſtimony of the celebrated Madame *Rolland*, who is known to have been the intimate friend and confidant of the principal Members of the Club of Jacobins *.

The

* "In the month of July 1792 the conduct and diſ-
"poſitions of the Court announcing hoſtile views,
"every one reaſoned on the means of obſtructing them,
"or rendering them abortive. *Chabot* ſaid on this ſub-
"ject, with that ardour that ſprings from frenzy and
"not from ſtrength, that it were to be wiſhed that the
"Court would make an attempt upon the lives of ſome
"patriotic Deputies, which would infallibly cauſe an
"inſurrection of the people, and was the only way of
"rouſing them, and producing a ſalutary criſis. He
"grew warm on this theme, and expatiated upon it
"for a conſiderable time. *Grangeneuve* was one of a
"ſmall

The factious were no leſs tormented with apprehenſions of another nature. They doubted the army, and no longer depended on the patriotiſm of the Generals. M. *de la Fayette*, rendered completely unpopular by

" ſmall company before whom this ſpeech was made.
" He liſtened to it without ſaying a word at the time,
" but ſeized the firſt moment that offered to ſpeak to
" *Chabot* privately. ' I was ſtruck,' ſaid he, ' with
' your arguments; they are excellent, but the Court is
' too cunning ever to furniſh us with ſuch an expedient.
' It muſt be done for them. Find men to ſtrike the
' blow, and I devote myſelf as the victim.'—' What!
' you will!'—' Certainly: what is there ſo difficult in
' it? My life is not very uſeful, my perſon is of no
' importance, and I ſhall be too happy in ſacrificing it
' to my country.'—' Ah! my friend,' cried *Chabot* with
" an air of inſpiration, ' you ſhall not be the only one;
' I will ſhare this glory with you.'—' Do as you will,'
" replied *Grangeneuve*; ' though one might be enough,
' two may do ſtill better: but there will be no glory in
' this, for nobody muſt know any thing of it: let us
' then think of the means.' *Chabot* undertook to ma-
" nage the affair. A few days after, he informed
" *Grangeneuve* that he had engaged people, and that
" every thing was ready. ' Well, then,' ſaid *Grange-*
" *neuve*, ' let us fix the time. We will go to the Com-
' mittee to-morrow night; I will leave it at half after
' ten o'clock, and ſhall paſs through ſuch a ſtreet,
' which is little frequented, where you muſt poſt your
' people; but take care they know what they are about;
' their

by his letter to the Aſſembly, and his petition, was in their eyes no longer the hero of the two worlds, the founder, the defender of liberty, of the rights of man, &c.; they ſaw in him only a traitor ſold to the Court. Mareſchal *Luckner*, of whom they had ſo much boaſted, and whoſe military talents and patriotiſm they had ſo much exaggerated, had diſſipated all their enthuſiaſm by adhering to the meaſures of his colleague. His arrival at Paris a few days

' their buſineſs is to kill us at once, and not to maim us.' " They ſettled the hour, concerted the preparations, " and *Grangeneuve* went home and made his will, and, " after arranging ſome family affairs, kept his appoint- " ment. He was firſt at the place; the hour arrived, " but no *Chabot* came. *Grangeneuve* concluded that he " had relinquiſhed his ſhare of the aſſaſſination, but " ſtill ſuppoſing matters prepared for his own, he ſet " out, and took the way agreed upon, walking ſlowly, " but not a creature did he meet. Leſt he ſhould have " miſtaken the hour, he went a ſecond time over the " ground, and was at laſt obliged to go home ſafe and " ſound, but extremely out of humour at the trouble " he had taken for nothing. *Chabot* averted his re- " proaches with wretched evaſions, and did not belie " the cowardice of a prieſt, or the hypocriſy of a " capuchin." *See the article of* Grangeneuve *in the* Memoirs of Madame Rolland, *publiſhed under the title of* An Appeal to Impartial Poſterity.

after

after M. *de la Fayette* had left it cauſing the Aſſembly to fear that he might alſo be come to preſent them a petition againſt the outrages of the 20th of June, in the name of his army, they haſtened to take into conſideration the report of the Commiſſion of the Twelve reſpecting a General's right of petitioning, and decreed that the Marcſchal ſhould come and give an account of the orders he had received, and of thoſe he had given, relative to the operations of the campaign, and that he ſhould preſent at the ſame time a ſtatement of all that was neceſſary to enſure ſucceſs to the operations in future.

Mareſchal *Luckner*, not very well ſatisfied with this reception, wrote to the Preſident, that, as a General of the French army, it was only to the King as Generaliſſimo, and to the Miniſter appointed to tranſmit him privately his orders, that he could give the account required of him, and that it would be found in his correſpondence with the Miniſters, a communication of which the Aſſembly had demanded, and in the journals of his Staff. "All theſe circumſtances," added he, "which are purely military, are cloſely connected with the future

" future operations of the campaign, re-
" ſpecting which, prudence and my duty
" oblige me to be ſecret. It is for the Na-
" tional Aſſembly to examine what in the
" conduct of the war is entirely foreign to
" their functions, and what the Conſtitu-
" tion allows them to be informed of, by
" inquiries made of the Miniſter of War,
" who has already had the honour of
" making known to the Aſſembly that I
" came hither by an order from the King,
" to confer with his Majeſty on our ſyſtem
" of defence. As to the ſtatement required
" of me reſpecting what is neceſſary to
" enſure ſucceſs to the operations in future,
" I reply that we want a great augmenta-
" tion of forces, and that grand aſſemblage
" of means which ſeemed to be promiſed
" to us by the proteſtations of civic zeal
" and martial enthuſiaſm often reverberated
" in the Hall of the National Aſſembly;
" that thoſe brilliant hopes have not yet
" been realiſed, that the army is ſtill in-
" complete, very deficient in number, and
" no way recruited, and that if the Aſſem-
" bly loſe a moment in reinforcing it, by
" all the means that depend on them, our

" forces will be immenſely diſproportioned " to thoſe of our enemies."

This anſwer diſpelled all apprehenſions on the object of the Mareſchal's journey; but the melancholy truths it contained, and the Conſtitutional leſſons it gave to the Aſſembly, diſpleaſed them extremely. The Members of the Committee of War aſſerted, that the Mareſchal had been with them the day before, had ſaid the very reverſe to them, and that he had appeared to have no fears of the enemy. It was, indeed, in the evening that the Committees met, and, after being fortified with a good dinner, the old General feared nothing, ſaw every thing in a favourable light, and ſaid all that he was deſired. In like manner next day, before the Commiſſion of the Twelve, he was led to confeſs that the letter which he had written to the Aſſembly was not his own, that he had only ſigned it, that it had been forced from him, &c. This new contradiction was denounced to the Aſſembly, and annihilated all the credit Mareſchal *Luckner* ever poſſeſſed with them. " How," it was ſaid, " are we to depend " upon a General who, whether it be owing " to

" to dotage or to drunkenneſs, changes in " the morning his opinions and language " of the evening?"

Dumourier, to whom *Luckner* had left during his abſence the command of the army, in which he already held the rank of Lieutenant-General at the head of the left wing, adroitly ſeized this opportunity to endeavour to catch the confidence which *La Fayette* and *Luckner* had loſt, or were loſing. For this purpoſe, he wrote the Aſſembly a letter, which they would no doubt have thought rather pompous, had the ſtyle of it not been made palatable by a ſtrong doſe of the moſt encouraging patriotic vauntings, interſperſed with critical and malicious reflections, well calculated to conciliate the favour of the enemies of the two Generals and of the Miniſtry*. Among other hectorings in this letter was that of having, with 600 men and two pieces of cannon, defended for two whole hours, foot to foot, the little unfortified town of Orchis, which was attacked at once at three different poſts by above 6,000 Auſtrians, with ſeveral pieces of cannon and howitzers, and of

* See *Dumourier*'s letter, APPENDIX, No. XXVIII.

having made a very honourable retreat, after loſing only eight men and one cannon, while the Auſtrians had left twenty dead, and carried off eleven waggons of wounded. What ſucceſs might not be hoped from ſo brilliant an outſet? And how was it poſſible to do otherwiſe than place great confidence in a General who with 600 men had nearly beaten 6,000?

Dumourier, pretending to be ſtill ignorant that there was a War Miniſter*, wrote the next day a ſecond letter to the Aſſembly in the ſame ſtyle as the firſt; and annexed to it the copy of a letter he was writing to M. *de la Fayette*, and a long memorial on the critical poſition in which he found himſelf; on the dangers of the plan of the campaign, as it was carrying on; on the changes neceſſary to be made in it, &c. He wrote at the ſame time to the King, on whom the cognizance of all thoſe matters had, by the Conſtitution, excluſively devolved, and ſent him copies of the ſame

* The letter by which the King informed the Aſſembly that the Miniſters who had given in their reſignation would continue their functions until his Majeſty appointed their ſucceſſors, had appeared in all the public papers.

papers.

papers. This then ſhould have been the only letter written by *Dumourier* on this occaſion, had he meant only to perform his duty; but that which he wrote to the Aſſembly was, even by its irregularity, infinitely more uſeful to his views. It was, in fact, only raiſing himſelf *to the height of things* (*a la hauteur des circonſtances*), and anticipating an event very near at hand, to regard the Aſſembly as already inveſted with the Executive Power, which it was evidently their intention to uſurp. They were pleaſed with *Dumourier* for his homage unconſtitutional as it was, and, in ſpite of the forcible remonſtrances of ſome Members of the *Coté-droit*, they referred his letter, not to the Executive Power, as they ought to have done, but to the Military Committee.

The enemies of M. *de la Fayette*, powerfully re-inforced by their coalition with *Dumourier*'s partizans, became doubly inveterate againſt him; and although his conduct had been fully juſtified by the report of the Commiſſion of the Twelve, they did not deſpair of obtaining againſt him a decree of impeachment, for which the moſt inſolent petitions were daily preſented at the

Bar of the Aſſembly. This miſerable farce, ſo often played by the Jacobins, was too well known and too much worn out to produce of itſelf a deciſive effect; recourſe was therefore had to other manœuvres. The principal Members of the Gironde party* being one day together at the houſe of their worthy friend the Abbé *Gobet*, the Conſtitutional Biſhop of Paris, with Mareſchal *Luckner*, egged him on to ſpeak a great deal—it was after dinner—and pretended that he had owned to them that M. *de la Fayette* had propoſed to him to march their armies to Paris. The next day one of the (*La Source*) denounced this avowal to the Aſſembly in the debate on the report of the Commiſſion of the Twelve relative to M. *de la Fayette*. "In ſhort, it is a fact," ſaid he; "I ſcarcely dared to write it, the "very letters I formed ſeemed all blood. "The bandage muſt now fall from the eyes "of every candid man who yet remains, "what I myſelf was, the dupe of the moſt "odious oftraitors, the admirer of the vileſt "of men. Will you be able to refrain

* *Briſſot, Guadet, Delmas, Genſonné, La Marque, La Source,* and *Herault de Sechelles.*

"from

" from ſhuddering with horror? *La Fayette*
" attempted to march the troops towards
" Paris, and to engage the noble *Luckner*,
" who was not to be ſeduced, to join in that
" act of villany and high treaſon. The pro-
" poſal was made to *Luckner* through M.
" *Bureau de Puzy*. I here appeal to the
" teſtimony of ſix of my colleagues, to
" whom this execrable project was revealed
" at the ſame time it was to me." Upon this *Guadet* declared, " that having aſked
" the Mareſchal whether it was true that
" it had been propoſed to him to march to
" Paris after the events of the 20th of June,
" the anſwer he made was ſo remarkable,
" that he (*Guadet*) had thought it right
" to commit it to paper, and he would read
" it." It was as follows: *I do not deny it: it was M. Bureau de Puzy, who I believe was thrice Preſident of the National Aſſembly. I anſwered him—I will march only againſt the enemy from without; La Fayette may do as he pleaſes; but if he marches againſt Paris I will march againſt him, and I will drub him.*

It was difficult to doubt that this anſwer was exactly reported: it ſeemed to have been taken from the Mareſchal's mouth.

It was written in his broken French; and beſides, the paper, which was depoſited on the table, was ſigned by *Guadet*, and all the other Members who were preſent at the converſation, except *Herault de Sechelles*. So ſerious was the charge reſulting from this againſt M. *de la Fayette*, that his enemies thought themſelves ſure of obtaining a decree of impeachment; and the more ſo, as at the ſame moment the Aſſembly were informed that the alarm bell was ringing in the Pariſh of St. Rock, and that a great concourſe of citizens were coming towards the Thuilleries, on the pretence of the Members of the Aſſembly being in danger. It is more than probable that this popular commotion happening ſo preciſely at the time that M. *de la Fayette* was denounced as guilty of high treaſon, had been raiſed by the Jacobins in order to intimidate and weaken that General's party. However that was, the debate was interrupted to attend to *Petion*, who, having by the omnipotence of his influence over the populace, prevailed upon them not to enter the Thuilleries, came to give an account of it to the Legiſlative Body, and to diſpel their alarms. The Aſſembly, after teſtifying by their applauſe

plauſe how much they were ſatisfied with the reſpect of the citizens for the law, and the Mayor's zeal to maintain it, reſumed the debate, and decreed, by a great majority, that it ſhould be adjourned till after an inquiry into the fact denounced by *Guadet* and the other Deputies, who, as well as he had atteſted by their ſignatures the exactneſs of the reply ſaid to have been made by Mareſchal *Luckner*.

M. *de la Fayette* was much indebted on this occaſion to the eloquence and courage with which he was defended by the worthy *Dumoulard*, who, in ſpite of the murmurs, hootings, and vociferations by which he was every inſtant interrupted, victoriouſly refuted all the cenſures caſt on M. *de la Fayette*, and expoſed the manœuvres of his ſlanderers with the real cauſes of their inveteracy againſt him*.

The faction who were determined on the ruin of M. *de la Fayette* had alſo determined on filling up the places of the Miniſters whom they had reduced, by means of

* I never was perſonally acquainted with M. *Dumoulard*, but from his conduct in this Aſſembly, and the principles he always profeſſed, I conſidered him as one of the moſt eſtimable Members of the *Coté-droit*.

perſecution

perſecutions and outrages, to the neceſſity of reſigning, on the grounds of their thinking that they could no longer be of uſe to the common-weal. The King, in accepting their reſignation, had deſired them to continue their functions till he had appointed their ſucceſſors; but that appointment was delayed from day to day, from the extreme difficulty of finding worthy men both able and willing to undertake thoſe offices. The factious, impatient at the delay, ſucceeded in obtaining a decree on the 21ſt of July, ordering, "that it ſhould be declared to the "King that the ſafety of the country loudly "called upon him to form a Miniſtry, and that "it could not be deferred without an incon-"ceivable increaſe of the dangers which "threatened liberty and the Conſtitution." They flattered themſelves that this decree would throw the King into an embarraſſment which might induce him to recal *Rolland*, *Servan*, and *Claviere;* and three of the chief members of the Gironde party had even the impudence to propoſe this meaſure to him as the only one that could ſhield his Majeſty from the dangers that menaced him*. The

* For further proofs of this conſpiracy reſpecting the impending inſurrection, See Private Memoirs, Vol. III. page 25 to 38.

propoſal,

propoſal, however, had no effect, and the Miniſtry was ſoon after formed*.

The King having ſanctioned the decree which declared the country in danger, it was proclaimed in the Capital with all the form and ceremony ſuited to make a great impreſſion. On the 22d of July, by ſix o'clock in the morning, it was announced by three diſcharges of the alarm guns of the park of artillery, of the *Pont-neuf*, and of the Arſenal, which were repeated every hour till ſeven o'clock at night. At ten in the morning, twelve Municipal officers in their ſcarfs, ſeveral *Notables* and four ſerjeants, paraded out of the *Hotel-de-Ville* into the *Place-de-Greve*, where they found waiting ſix legions of the National Guard with their colours, drums, and muſic, and detachments of horſe with their

* On the 21ſt of July, M. *de Monciel*, Miniſter of the Interior, and M. *de Lacoſte*, Miniſter of the Marine, were ſucceeded, the former by M. *de Champion*, and the latter by M. *du Bouchage*. On the 23d, M. *de Lajard* was ſucceeded by M. *Dabancourt* in the War Department. On the 30th *Le Roux de Laville* was appointed to the Department of the Finances in the place of M. *de Beaulieu*; and on the 1ſt of Auguſt, the Department for Foreign Affairs, which was held by M. *Chambonas*, was entruſted to M. *Bigot de St. Croix*.

trumpets,

trumpets and ſeveral pieces of cannon. Theſe troops were divided into two bodies, headed by ſix Municipal Officers on horſeback, and a proportionate number of *Notables*, preceded by a National guard on horſeback, carrying a large tri-coloured banner, on which appeared the words, *Citizens! the country is in danger.* On either ſide of this banner rode four ſerjeants on horſeback, each carrying an enſign loaded with civic crowns, and on which were the words, *Liberty, Equality, Conſtitution, Country;* and below theſe, *Publicity, Reſponſibility.* In this order the two trains ſet out from the *Place-de-Greve* in different directions, to go and proclaim in all the quarters of the town the Act declaring *the country in danger.* It was read by a Municipal Officer, after a ſignal for ſilence given by a roll of the drums. During the march the bands played only grand and ſolemn movements, ſuitable to the occaſion.

In the chief public places large amphitheatres were raiſed, terminating with tents ornamented with tri-coloured ſtreamers, wreaths of oak leaves, and civic crowns. On each ſide of the tents was a pike, on which was a red cap. In front of the amphitheatre,

phitheatre, a board placed on twod rumheads ſerved as a deſk for inſcribing the names of the citizens who were diſpoſed to march to the frontiers, and their certificates of enrolment were immediately delivered to them. All who offered themſelves were admitted without any objection as to age, ſize, or trade. Theſe patriotic enrolments continued for nearly a week. Every evening the Municipal Officer was ſeen exhauſted with heat and fatigue, going from the amphitheatre, with his regiſter under his arm, to the *Hotel de Ville*, accompanied with his *enfans de la patrie, children of the country*, his harveſt of the day, a groteſque phalanx that marched the day following for the frontiers, or the camp at Soiſſons. *Let us go for glory*, was their ſong all the way. In this manner went off ſome thouſands *: ſcarcely one in a hundred ever returned.

Some of theſe miſerable *citizen ſoldiers*, who two days before were ſeen in the ſtreets receiving charity, or cleaning ſhoes, deeming themſelves, no doubt, rendered ſufficiently illuſtrious by their enrolment to figure at the Bar of the Aſſembly, preſented

* About 15,000

themſelves

themſelves there at the moment of their departure, and demanded, *in the name of the country which they were going to ſave*, the depoſition of the Executive Power, or that at leaſt no order ſhould be iſſued directly from it, till previouſly communicated to the Legiſlative Body. The Aſſembly applauded their zeal, and granted them the honours of the Sitting. They had ſome minutes before given the ſame reception to a band of Federates, who calling themſelves the organs of a very great majority of the citizens of the 83 Departments, had come to make the ſame demand which had entered into the heads of ſome of their comrades. "Determine," ſaid they in their inſolent harangue, "determine, in this very Sitting, "on the only means of redreſſing our griev-"ances; ſuſpend the Executive Power. "The Conſtitution authoriſes you to try "him: now you cannot do that without "having the right of ſuſpending him. "Convoke the primary Aſſemblies, in or-"der to know, in a direct and certain man-"ner, the will of the nation. Cauſe a "National Convention to be appointed, to "decide on certain articles ſaid to be Con-"ſtitutional. There is not a moment to be "loſt.

" loſt. Have a care of drawing upon your-
" ſelves a terrible reſponſibility. If you
" give the nation a proof of inability, they
" will have but one reſource remaining,
" that of putting forth their whole ſtrength,
" and cruſhing their enemies themſelves."

In vain did the Members of the *Coté-droit* expreſs their indignation, and move for cenſures on theſe unconſtitutional petitions, which followed one after another at every Sitting, ſupported by a great number of ſignatures; they were always applauded by the majority of the Aſſembly, and referred to the Commiſſion of the Twelve, to be employed when wanted, to prove the general wiſh of the nation. The depoſition of the King was certainly the wiſh of all the Jacobin Clubs, and conſequently that of all thoſe furious demagogues, who everywhere exciting and directing at their will all the motions of a part of the people, or rather of the populace, thought in their frenzy that they conſtituted the whole nation, except the Ariſtocrats, whom they conſidered as its enemies.

What then had the King done at this period to draw upon himſelf ſuch violent animoſity, and what new charge could be juſtly

juſtly made againſt him? Not any; no, not any: and I vouch this important truth without any apprehenſion of being contradicted. I ſhall not here make a loathſome diſplay of the diſguſting motions and petitions with which the tribune and Bar of the Aſſembly daily rung; I ſhall only obſerve, that not a ſingle one can be mentioned, containing a fact which juſtly merited reproach: they were nothing more than indecent declamations, conjectures, ſuſpicions, and vague cenſures, abſurd on the very face of them, or deſtitute of every kind of proof. The complaints perpetually renewed of the pretended negligence of the Executive Power, in completing the army, providing the garriſons, arming the National Volunteers, &c. were all foreign to the King, and only concerned the Miniſters who were reſponſible for it. It will be readily believed, that if there had been the ſlighteſt grounds againſt them, they would have been impeached. The declamations and cenſures ſo often repeated, on account of his Majeſty's refuſal to ſanction the two decrees relative to the nonjuring prieſts, and the formation of a camp of 20,000 men, were evidently unconſtitutional and groundleſs. In fact, for

ſix

ſix weeks no new denunciation of religious diſturbances had been made to the Aſſembly; they had all been prevented by the ſtrict execution of the exiſting laws: and as for the camp, it was generally acknowledged that the one formed at Soiſſons, by the King's order, was much more advantageouſly ſituated to protect the Capital, and re-inforce our armies in caſe of neceſſity, than that would have been which the Aſſembly wiſhed to have ſtationed in the neighbourhood of Paris. The country had been declared in danger by a decree paſſed on the 11th of July, after ſeveral days' deliberation, and proclaimed with the moſt ſtriking ſolemnity: but ſuppoſing that danger really to have exiſted, the Aſſembly were the leſs warranted to accuſe the King of it, as twelve days after they had paſſed that famous decree, they were completely ignorant what the dangers they had proclaimed conſiſted of. This very remarkable fact is certainly eſtabliſhed beyond diſpute by the unanimity with which they adopted, in the Sitting of the 23d of July, the motion made in the following words by *La Source*, one of the moſt violent Members of the Gironde faction:

" I move that you refer to the Commiſ-
" ſion of the Twelve the queſtion couched
" in terms ſo preciſe, that they cannot wan-
" der from it in their Report; and the form
" I propoſe to you is this: " *What are the*
" *dangers of the country? What are the*
" *cauſes of thoſe dangers? Are the mea-*
" *ſures hitherto employed ſufficient? Is it*
" *neceſſary to employ extraordinary ones?*
" *What are they* ?*

The only fault then that *Louis* XVI. could have at this time in the eyes of the factious, was his retaining the title of *King* in a Government no longer Monarchical, and remaining faithful to a Conſtitution which they no longer wiſhed to have. They accuſed, inſulted, and degraded his Majeſty,

* The Commiſſion anſwered the two laſt queſtions the very next day, by propoſing to the Aſſembly to decree that all the National guards of the kingdom, at the rate of one-ſixth of the active citizens of each Department, ſhould be at the call of the Generals, and it was ſo decreed. Some Members of the *Coté-gauche* inſiſted on immediately opening the debate with the queſtion, whether the King had incurred a forfeiture; but the Reporter ſhowed the danger of being too precipitate in the inquiry into meaſures that called forth a reaſonable fear of treaſons, and the Aſſembly paſſed to the order of the day.

in

in order to colour their execrable plots with ſome pretext, ſome appearance of juſtice, to accelerate the execution, and enſure the ſucceſs of them, by rendering the people accomplices. Their manœuvres, which I watched with all poſſible vigilance, became daily more alarming. I was informed that a clandeſtine meeting had been held at Charenton, compoſed of the moſt violent Revolutioniſts in the Aſſembly, and of the Jacobins; that the projected inſurrection was ultimately fixed for the 9th or 10th of Auguſt; that after having plundered the Palace, and forced the King to take refuge in the Aſſembly, the populace were to demand his depoſition in ſo peremptory a ſtile that the Aſſembly would not dare to refuſe.

The chiefs of the Gironde faction, who had planned the inſurrection, did not at that time intend to overſet the Monarchy; their deſign was to dethrone the King, make the Crown paſs to his ſon, and eſtabliſh a Council of Regency, which they would have compoſed of their creatures, over whom they would always have had ſufficient influence to obtain whatever money or employments they demanded. But as

they knew that it is eaſier to excite a violent inſurrection, than to moderate it, or preſcribe its bounds, ſo as to obtain the preciſe object they had in view, they were inclined to relinquiſh their plan, on condition that the King would agree to recal the three Miniſters, who were too much devoted to them to have refuſed them any thing; which was the inducement of their propoſal to his Majeſty.

The King's refuſal having rendered this project abortive, the Girondiſts formed that of aſſuming indirectly the appointment of the Miniſters, by arbitrarily augmenting their reſponſibility, and by rendering it conjoint and unlimited. They therefore propoſed the following decree, which was paſſed by a great majority after a long debate:

"The National Aſſembly conſidering that "it is the moſt ſacred of their duties to uſe "all the means which the Conſtitution has "given them, to prevent or ſpeedily termi-"nate the danger of the country; conſider-"ing that nothing can contribute more "effectually to the attainment of this im-"portant object, than to give to the reſpon-"ſibility of the Miniſters, and public or "private

" private Counſellors of the Executive " Power all the latitude which the ſafety of " the State requires in ſuch circumſtances, " declare, that when the Legiſlative Body " has proclaimed, in the forms preſcribed " by the decree of the 5th of this month, " that the country is in danger, independ- " ently of the caſes in which the agents of " the Executive Power are uſually reſpon- " ſible, all the Miniſters are conjointly " reſponſible, as well for the acts reſolved " upon in the Council, relative to the inte- " rior and exterior ſafety of the State, that " ſhould have cauſed the danger, as for " neglecting the meaſures which ought to " have been taken to ſtop the progreſs of " it; which joint reſponſibility ſhall take " place equally againſt all the Miniſters " after the proclamation, and while it con- " tinues unrevoked: Declare, in like man- " ner, that in caſe of the ſaid proclamation, " the Counſellors of the King, whoever " they may be, are perſonally reſponſible " for the preſent misfortunes, and for all " thoſe that may be the conſequence of " them."

Notwithſtanding this decree, the King ſtill found ſome worthy men ſo bold, ſo

devoted to his perſon, as to accept the vacant places in the Miniſtry; but at this dreadful moment, of what uſe could Miniſters the moſt faithful, the moſt able, be to his Majeſty? Alas! there was but one ſervice they could render him, and that was to prevail upon him, by their counſels, to leave Paris.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Rapid Progreſs of Sedition—Inſurrections in the Fauxbourgs to go and take away the Arms reported to be collected at the Palace—Increaſe of Emigration—Meaſures taken againſt it—Addreſs from the Aſſembly to the King drawn up by Guadet—Briſſot's Motion for inquiring what Acts are a Forfeiture of the Crown—The Populace admitted to the Terrace of the Feuillans by the Aſſembly—M. Deſpreminil attacked—Manœuvres in the Garden of the Thuilleries—The King determines to quit Paris—Arrival of

another Body of Marſeillois—Their Encounter with ſome of the National Guard in the Champs-Elizées—Conduct of the Aſſembly on the Occaſion—M. de la Fayette exculpated to the Aſſembly—Mareſchal Luckner denies the Aſſertions attributed to him—La Fayette's Letter on the Occaſion—The Duke of Brunſwick's Manifeſto—His additional Declaration reſpecting the Perſons of the King and Royal Family—Declaration of the French Princes—Decree in Favour of foreign Deſerters reſiding in France.

SEVERAL days had paſſed ſince I ſent my plan to the King relative to the departure of himſelf and the Royal Family for Gaillon; and notwithſtanding my entreaties, ſo often repeated, I had yet received no definitive reply from his Majeſty, who always gave me to underſtand that he was conſidering it, and that he would inform me of his intentions*,

The

* For a full account of this plan I have already referred to the Private Memoirs. It was at this time that Field Mareſchal *Lefort* was ſent to Normandy, preparatory

The King's want of deciſion on the means of ſafety which we propoſed to him, was the more vexatious, as the ſymptoms of the criſis that threatened him were increaſing with a moſt alarming rapidity. The petitions and addreſſes demanding his depoſition became daily more numerous and more imperious, and were even in a manner a general title of admiſſion to the Sittings of the Aſſembly, who never failed granting that honour to all who preſented them ſuch petitions. But one of their moſt fatal Revolutionary meaſures was the decree which, under pretence of the danger of the country, made the Aſſemblies of the Sections permanent in the Capital*, and by that eſtabliſhed ſo many focuſes of inſurrection and rebellion.

The ſuſpicions, alarms, and agitation of the Pariſians were kept up by the abſurd reports which were perpetually ſpread, ſome-

paratory to the execution of it. *See* Vol. III. p. 22. The neceſſity for the King's departure was ſo generally felt, that ſeveral plans of eſcape were ſent to his Majeſty; one was from Madame *de Stael.* See my Private Memoirs, Vol. III. page 57.

* This decree was paſſed on the 25th of July, in the Evening Sitting.

times

times on the ſuppoſed flight of the King and Royal Family, ſometimes on the pretended collection of arms and ammunition concealed at the Thuilleries. The Miniſter of the Interior wrote to the Mayor, on this occaſion, on the 26th of July, at one o'clock in the morning, requiring him, on the part of the King, to come or ſend two Municipal Officers to the Palace to ſearch it; but the Municipal Body, aſſembled on this requiſition, inſolently reſolved that there was no grounds to determine upon, *inaſmuch as the King ſhould previouſly cauſe a declaration to be made to the Committee of the Section, as well for himſelf as for all perſons reſiding in the Palace of the Thuilleries, of the arms in the poſſeſſion of each of them.* At three o'clock in the morning the Mayor was obliged to repair to the Fauxbourg St. Antoine, where a mob was collected with the deſign of going to take away the arms which were ſaid to be at the Palace; nor could he diſperſe them but by making them acquainted with the letter of the Miniſter, and the Reſolution of the Municipality. He then went to the Fauxbourg St. Marceau, where the workmen were aſſembling at the ringing of the alarm bell,

bell, and at the beating of the drums, and reſtored peace there *till further orders*; for there was not one of thoſe ſeditious commotions but what was commanded; and the Jacobins accuſed the Royaliſts of them as impudently as they had accuſed the Ariſtocrats of burning their own country houſes.

The continuance and enormity of theſe diſorders determined a great many worthy people to remove from the Capital, and even to quit the kingdom. The Municipality, alarmed at the number of paſſports daily given out, chiefly for England, conſidered this emigration, which was dictated by prudence, as a baſe deſertion of the country in the moment of danger; and reſolved, in conſequence, unanimouſly, that an Addreſs ſhould be preſented to the Aſſembly, demanding, 1ſt, that while the country remained in danger, all citizens, except merchants *publicly known*, ſhould be prohibited from leaving the kingdom: 2dly, that the Municipality of Paris ſhould be authorized to eſtabliſh among themſelves a Committee of Inſpection, with powers neceſſary to counteract effectually, in theſe times of danger, the plots of the ill diſpoſed: 3dly, that the property of Emigrants

ſhould

ſhould be confiſcated and put up to ſale as National property *.

At the time that the Municipality entered into this Reſolution, the National Aſſembly, ſtill deliberating on the dangers of the country, and not yet daring to come to a determination on the petitions relative to the depoſition of the King, voted him an addreſs very well ſuited to ſerve as a preamble for ſuch a decree, and to prepare the minds of the people for it. This Addreſs, drawn up by the Girondiſt *Guadet*, was as follows:

"Sire, the French nation have confided "to you the care of defending them; yet "the officers of our armies have fled to the "foreign Powers, and joining your rela- "tions, your courtiers, your guards, are "forming an army, and have declared war "againſt us. The Conſtitution has charged "you to watch over the exterior intereſts "of the nation, yet the ally for whom we "have laviſhed our blood and treaſure, is "become our enemy; and it is in your

* The laſt of theſe demands was decreed unanimouſly in the Sitting of the 27th of July, and the prohibition of delivering paſſports for going out of the kingdom, was decreed in the following Sitting.

"name

" name that he has raiſed againſt us a league
" of Kings, hoſtile to that liberty which
" you have ſworn to maintain, and pro-
" tectors of an authority which you have ſo
" often ſolemnly renounced.

" The French people ſee their frontiers
" invaded, their lands threatened; their
" blood has been ſpilt by the weapons of
" the ſoldiers of deſpotiſm. From one end
" of the kingdom to the other, prieſts, no-
" bles, factious men of every kind diſturb
" the tranquillity of the citizens, and all
" of them glory in the title of your defend-
" ers. By what fatality, Sire, is it that
" our enemies are only men who pretend
" to ſerve you? By what fatality are we
" obliged to doubt whether thoſe enemies
" of France are ſerving or betraying you?

" In this moment of danger you might
" have done much, you might have done
" every thing for the ſafety of the Empire.
" A vigilant and firm Miniſter, worthy of
" the confidence of the people, ſupported
" by that of their Repreſentatives, and ſure
" of yours, would ſoon have reſtored order
" in the armies, and peace in the Depart-
" ments; yet France muſt have ſeen with
" aſtoniſhment Miniſters, with whoſe pa-
" triotiſm

" triotiſm ſhe was acquainted, ſuddenly
" ſuperſeded by men unknown or ſuſpected,
" and thoſe again ſoon ſucceeded by others
" no leſs unknown. Some of them, no
" doubt, may be worthy of their office;
" but can we expect at preſent that they
" can have time to obtain the confidence of
" the people? And why have all thoſe who
" were known to have merited it before,
" all whoſe names would have inſtilled
" ſecurity and hope into the ſouls of the
" citizens, been carefully removed or neg-
" lected?

" You complain, Sire, of the diſtruſt of
" the people, but what have you done to
" remove it? Your Palace is filled with
" the families of the rebels at Coblentz;
" the known enemies of the equality of the
" Conſtitution compoſe your Court; and it
" would be in vain to look near you for a
" man who had been uſeful to the cauſe of
" liberty, or who had not betrayed it.

" Do you wiſh, Sire, to recover the con-
" fidence of the citizens? You have only
" to ſet them an example of it. *Let the*
" *reſidence of the King of a free nation*
" *no longer wear the appearance of a for-*
" *treſs threatened by an enemy; and let*

" *thoſe*

" *thoſe injurious precautions ceaſe at*
" *length to calumniate a generous and ſuſ-*
" *ceptible people**. Their diſſatisfaction is
" ſometimes expreſſed with violence, and
" that agonizing cry of a people who think
" themſelves betrayed, is repreſented to you
" as the work of a faction! The indigna-
" tion of free men, who thought that they
" ſaw in the ſtate of our armies, in the
" choice of your Miniſters, and in your
" refuſal to adopt neceſſary meaſures, the
" culpable intention of modifying that Con-
" ſtitution, and humbling before foreign
" Kings the Throne on which the nation
" has placed you, is painted to you as a
" project formed for overturning that
" Throne! Sire, the real enemies of the
" Conſtitution are thoſe who, by an ill-
" directed or perfidious uſe of the powers
" they have received from it, labour to
" prove that it cannot ſave the country.
" But all diviſions are about to ceaſe.
" When an Empire is threatened by foreign
" armies, and attempts are made to change

* It was only a fortnight before the inſurrection of the 10th of Auguſt that this advice, even more perfidious than inſolent, was addreſſed to *Louis* XVI.

" its

" its laws by force, there exiſts but one " neceſſity, one duty, that of repelling the " enemy. All difference of party or opinion " muſt be ſuſpended, and there remain " but two claſſes of men; citizens, and " traitors.

" All your intereſts, Sire, are united to " thoſe of the country; all connivance, all " weakneſs, even were it attended with that " ſucceſs which, though impoſſible, baſe " conſpirators dare to promiſe you, would " be to you the greateſt of misfortunes. " Nations that have pardoned every thing " elſe have never been known to pardon the " crime of degrading them under a foreign " yoke; and what authority can be a com- " penſation to him who condemns himſelf " to the laſting hatred of his country, and " the contempt of the reſt of the world?

" The Conſtitution, Sire, impoſes on " the King of the French the duty of re- " pelling with more energy the enemy, " who, falſely aſſuming the name of the " King, ſhould add the crime of treachery " to that of unjuſt aggreſſion. It has im- " poſed upon him the obligation of mani- " feſting his oppoſition by a formal act: " but if a King of the French, far from " contradicting

" contradicting the firſt impoſtures, ſhould " allow them long to gain credit and ſpread; " if he ſhould give weight by public acts " to the pretexts employed to ſupport thoſe " impoſtures; if the language of his Mi- " niſters ſhould be too often ſimilar to that " of the enemies of the nation; if delay " in preparations of defence; if negligence " in informing the Repreſentatives of the na- " tion of its danger while there was yet time " to avert it, and while it was eaſier to " repel it; in a word, if a complete ſyſtem " of conduct is in direct oppoſition to that " formal act, could a ſimple ſignature, con- " tradicted by actions, be an accompliſh- " ment of the law, or muſt it not rather be " conſidered as an additional treachery?

" Such, Sire, are the truths which the " Repreſentatives of the French nation can " no longer hide from you without a crime. " You may yet ſave the country and your " Crown with it: dare, at length, to de- " termine upon it; let the names of your " Miniſters, let the ſight of men who are " about you inſpire public confidence! Let " all your own actions, and the energy and " activity of your Council, teſtify that the " nation, its Repreſentatives, and you, have

" but one will, one deſire—that of the " public ſafety.

" The nation is no doubt able to defend " itſelf, and to preſerve its liberty; but re- " queſts you once more, Sire, to unite " with it to defend the Conſtitution and the " Throne."

Briſſot, conſidering this addreſs as a neceſſary preliminary *to the important meaſures which might become indiſpenſable*, ſupported it in a long ſpeech, in which he combated the opinion of *thoſe over-vehement patriots who loſt all by too much precipitation*, and called upon the Aſſembly *to guard the diſcuſſion on the depoſition with ſuch precautions, that, if it were decided upon, the whole nation might give their aſſent to it.* He did not conceal that ſuch a deciſion, if not reſted on poſitive facts, and dictated by wiſdom on the matureſt reflection, would diſgrace the Legiſlative Body, produce a civil war, and open to the foreign armies the gates of France deprived of a great number of her defenders. He concluded with moving that the Commiſſion of the Twelve ſhould be charged, 1ſt, to inquire what were the acts that induce a forfeiture of the Crown, and whether the King

King had been guilty of them; 2dly, to propoſe a plan for an addreſs to the people, to warn them againſt the unconſtitutional and impolitic meaſures that might be propoſed to them.

His ſpeech was greatly applauded by the Aſſembly, and the motion almoſt unanimouſly adopted, notwithſtanding the murmurs and hootings of the people in the galleries, who, in their fooliſh tranſports, cared very little whether the depoſition were juſt or unjuſt, advantageous or injurious, provided it was but determined.

The Gironde party were ſo intereſted in the recal of *Rolland*, *Servan*, and *Claviere*, that, notwithſtanding the ſucceſsleſs iſſue of the private demand they had made of it to the King, they dared to bring it forward again almoſt in the ſame terms, and in a ſtyle ſtill more menacing, in the addreſs I have juſt reported.

With reſpect to the precautions taken for the ſecurity of the Palace, which the Aſſembly pretended were inſults *to a generous and ſuſceptible people*, the fact was, that after the outrages of the 20th of June, the King had thought proper to have the Thuilleries kept ſhut, to prevent the Palace being

broken into through the garden a ſecond time, and that he might no longer hear the groſs inſults which this *good people* daily poured forth under the windows of the Royal Family. This ſtep, as lawful as prudent, being likely to obſtruct the future attempts projected againſt the Palace, was conſidered and proclaimed by the Jacobins as a ſhocking act of tyranny, as a blow aimed at the ſovereignty of the people, and at the rights of the Legiſlative Body. Theſe regicide clamours were publiſhed by all the Revolutionary Journaliſts, and repeated by the workmen of the Fauxbourgs, by the *Palais-Royal* groups, and in the Aſſembly, who, to ſatisfy the factious, made uſe of the unlimited right which the Conſtitution had given them of fixing the outer bounds of the place of their Sittings, and of exerciſing a jurisdiction to that extent. They, in conſequence, decreed that the part of the garden of the Thuilleries called *the Terrace of the Feuillans*, immediately contiguous, from one end to the other, to the place of their Sittings, formed a part of their bounds.

This decree, which was paſſed on the 26th of July, opened the Terrace of the *Feuillans* to

to the people, and obliged the King to order a file of grenadiers to be poſted along it, to prevent people from coming into the garden. The very next day the populace, exaſperated at this barrier, quarrelled with the guards, and reproached them in the moſt abuſive language. M. *Deſpremenil* being known in the crowd in the paſſage of the Feuillans, was ſeized by the collar. He attempted to ſpeak, but was immediately aſſailed by the Federates and Brigands with their ſabres, ſticks, and fiſts at once. His coat, waiſt-coat, and ſhirt were torn to pieces: wounded, bruiſed, covered with blood from head to foot, he was dragged away to the *Palais-Royal*, where the wretches were going to put an end to him, when the National Guard came up, reſcued him from the aſſaſſins, and carried him to the Hotel of the National Treaſury, where he remained a great part of the night. *Petion*, his old colleague in the Firſt Aſſembly, went to him as head of the Municipality to inquire for him. M. *Deſpremenil* thanked him for his attention, and made uſe of theſe remarkable words to him: "I too, M. *Petion*, like you, have been carried in triumph by the people, yet you ſee how

" they have uſed me: fear the like fate for " yourſelf."

The Aſſembly, on being informed of this outrage, and ſolicited by the National Guard to revoke the decree which had opened the Terrace of the Feuillans to the people, and which rendered it impoſſible to keep them out of the garden of the Thuilleries, were not content with refuſing this requeſt, but decreed that the Committee of the Domains ſhould, in three days, make a report to them on the queſtion whether the enjoyment of the garden of the Thuilleries belonged excluſively to the Firſt Public Functionary. The manner in which this queſtion was put announced beforehand how it would be reſolved. The King anticipated it, by withdrawing the Guard which had been placed the day before on the Terrace of the Feuillans, ſo that no obſtacle whatever remained to the people's going into the garden; but the factious, at whoſe pleaſure their deſires, their opinions, and all the Revolutionary acts were directed, thought it more uſeful to their own views to reſtrict them to the Terrace, and this they accompliſhed by the following manœuvre. A conſiderable number of their orators, dreſſed as *Sans-culottes*, ſpread

ſpread among the crowd, harangued the people, and repreſented to them that it did not become their dignity to walk in the garden by permiſſion of thoſe whoſe arbitrary will had ſo long deprived them of that pleaſure; that they ought to wait on this occaſion for the deciſion the Legiſlative Body were about to make, and in the meantime to confine themſelves to the Terrace, the liberty of which had been decreed; that the reſt of the garden was the land of Coblentz, where only Emigrants, conſpirators, or Court valets were to be ſeen, &c. Theſe harangues, a line traced on the ground at the two extremities of the Terrace, and tricoloured ribbons tied acroſs all the paſſages, with the deviſe of *Ne plus ultra* ſuſpended to them, ſufficed to keep on the Terrace the immenſe populace that crowded it, while the reſt of the garden was deſerted.

This patriotic farce was repeated for ſome days, and was celebrated with great force by all the Revolutionary Journaliſts, as *a moſt ſtriking proof of the amiable amenity, of the intelligent and delicate good-humour of that good people when left to themſelves, and following only their own propenſities.* People leſs enthuſiaſtic, on the contrary,

ſaw in this rapid tranſition from the ferocity of the tiger to the moſt infantine docility, a complete proof of the abſolute ſervility of the people to the will of the factious. Theſe were nearly the words uſed by the King on the occaſion, in his anſwer on the evening of the 28th of July to the letter which I had written to him the day before, and in which I told him, that I was waiting his orders for M. *Lefort's* departure; that I had collected 400,000 livres of the 600,000 which I had undertaken to procure, and that I was to receive the remainder in the courſe of the day. To theſe two points his Majeſty wrote on the margin the following replies:

"You may ſend off M. *Lefort.*"

"I will ſend you to-morrow by M. *de* "*Monciel* my note, or my acknowledge-"ment for 600,000 livres, with blanks, "which you will fill up for the intereſt, "according to the conditions on which that "ſum is lent to me."

M. *de Monciel* accordingly gave me the next morning a note for 600,000 livres, dated the 29th of July. He had another for a million for M. *de Montmorin*, who was to receive that ſum from M. *du Chatelet.*

I received

I received a letter from the King on the ſame day, by which all my fears of his irreſolution were completely removed. His Majeſty, convinced of the neceſſity of his departure, and of the danger of delaying it, ordered me to pay in future daily the private expences with which *Buob* the Juſtice was commiſſioned, and even to pay beforehand weekly thoſe of which the amount was fixed. I was alſo charged to give *Mallet-du-Pan* ſome inſtructions on the occaſion, and to recommend it to him to return as ſoon as poſſible to Frankfort, which he had left on the 20th of July without informing me of it, conſidering his miſſion as entirely at an end by the acquieſcence of the Powers in all the King's views, and by their adoption of the manifeſto he had been charged to propoſe to them. He had ſo fully juſtified the King's confidence in him by the wiſdom and ſucceſs of his negociation, that his Majeſty authorized me to teſtify to him how much he was ſatisfied with it, and to tell him that he wiſhed to have no other negociator with the Powers*.

At

* *Mallet-du-Pan* received my letter on this occaſion at Geneva at the moment when the Auſtrian and Pruſſian armies

At this critical and tumultuous juncture, a new body of Marſeillois, amounting to about 500 banditti, all of them moſt ill-looking fellows, arrived at Paris. They were received with the moſt lively tranſports of joy by the workmen of the Fauxbourg St. Antoine, at the *Champs-Elizees*, where a fraternal repaſt had been prepared for them. It accidentally happened on the ſame day that ſome grenadiers of the National Guard, Swiſs non-commiſſioned officers, and ſeveral perſons belonging to the Palace, were dining at the very time at the ſame houſe, and in the adjoining room. At the concluſion of their meal, repeated ſhouts of *Vive la nation! Long live the Federates! Long live our brave Marſeillois brothers!* were reverberated from the room where the Marſeillois were dining with their new friends. On ſome of the National grenadiers being ſeen through the windows, they were renewed with ſtill greater vehemence. The air of bravado and of inſult with which the words were addreſſed to the grenadiers

armies were on their march, and juſt when the Duke of *Brunſwick*'s manifeſto, ſo different from that propoſed by him, was publiſhed; circumſtances that induced him to conſider his return into Germany as uſeleſs.

irritated

irritated them, and they ſhouted in turn *Vive le Roi!* The people, exaſperated by this kind of challenge, anſwered it by throwing ſtones. An immenſe crowd very ſoon ſurrounded the houſe, threatening to force it in order to take vengeance. The grenadiers ſeeing the number and fury of the aſſailants increaſing every moment, determined to make their way out ſword in hand. A lieutenant of the battalion of the *Petits Peres* who was with them determined unfortunately to make uſe of his piſtols, and was killed upon the ſpot. On this, the Marſeillois, armed with ſwords and ſticks, joining the populace, diſarmed and knocked down all the grenadiers and Swiſs officers they could catch. They then returned to the quarters which had been prepared for them, ſtopping and inſulting on their way every perſon who had not a woolen cockade. They violently tore off all ſilk ones, and threw the hats in which they were found into the crowd that was following them, who applauded with ſhouts of *Bravo*, theſe patriotic brutalities*. The Aſſembly, to whom they

* They ſeized one or two of the Bourgeois who attempted to reſiſt their inſults, declared them Ariſtocrats, and

they were denounced, decided, that as the decree relative to cockades had fixed only the colours, every one was at liberty to wear them of any kind of ſtuff, provided they were of the three colours declared National, and the Mayor of Paris was charged to attend to the execution of that law.

The Aſſembly were much more indulgent in reſpect to the exceſſes committed by the Marſeillois in the *Champs-Elizees*. The deputations of the National Guard, who came to demand ſatisfaction for them, and to ſolicit that thoſe brigands ſhould be ſent away, were groſsly inſulted by hootings, contradictions, and burſts of laughter from

and led them away to the Square at the Baſtille, announcing that they were going to make a great example of them; and it is probable they would have been hanged, if one of the ſpectators had not propoſed a commutation of their puniſhment. I ſaw this troop of furies half-drunk march along the Boulevard: five and twenty horſemen ſword in hand would have diſperſed and routed them in the twinkling of an eye. Stupor and fright were painted on the faces of all who happened to be in their way. Every one was in a hurry to put his cockade in his pocket, and thoſe brave Pariſians, thoſe conquerors of the Baſtille, thoſe firſt heroes of the Revolution trembled before a handful of Provincial brigands in rags.

the

the galleries, and obtained only the honours of the Sitting, and the favour of their petition being referred to the Commiſſion of the Twelve; which was alſo granted to the Marſeillois, who had likewiſe ſent a deputation to complain of having been inſulted by the National Guard, and to petition for the reduction of their Staff.

It was naturally to be expected, and all good citizens hoped, that the Aſſembly would not heſitate to clear the Capital of this band of brigands, and that they would immediately ſend them to the frontiers by a very honourable decree, which they could not have refuſed obeying without raiſing a ſuſpicion of their bravery or their patriotiſm; but the factious, who had ſent for the Marſeillois, wanted them only in Paris, and eaſily obtained from the Commiſſion of the Twelve a report favourable to their views. *Guadet*, who was charged with it, repreſented that it would be a mockery to invite the Federates of Marſeilles to proceed to the camp of Soiſſons, when it was more than probable that there was nothing ready to receive them, and that there were neither tents, arms, clothes, linen, or even food enough; he therefore propoſed to the Aſ-

ſembly

ſembly to confine themſelves for the preſent to ſending three Commiſſioners to Soiſſons to aſcertain the facts. This excluſive tenderneſs for the Federates of Marſeilles was not very obliging to thoſe of other Provinces and of the Capital, who were daily ſent off to Soiſſons and the frontiers, where our armies were completely proviſioned, and whither conſequently the Marſeillois might have gone without any obſtacle. But nobody dared to propoſe it, and the Aſſembly adopted the advice of the Report. They decreed at the ſame time a proclamation, addreſſed to the National Guards and to the Federates, adviſing them to be on their guard againſt diſtruſts and diſſenſions which the enemies of the Conſtitution were endeavouring to ſow amongſt them, and who had no other view than to weaken by dividing them, to hurry them into the commiſſion of crimes, and to force them to turn their arms againſt one another for the purpoſe of reſtoring, by a civil war, the old ſyſtem and deſpotiſm.

A civil war was, in fact, what the Jacobins moſt dreaded; and their great diſguſt with M. *de la Fayette* was merely the conſequence of their ſeeing in him the only man

man who could with advantage put himſelf at the head of the Royaliſt party. There is no doubt, that if at this moment he had dared to declare himſelf the leader of it, he would ſoon have brought over to him all the Conſtitutional party, and the ſound part of all the National guards of the kingdom. Such, as we have ſeen in the foregoing Chapters, was the plan he propoſed to the King; and he would certainly have attempted the execution of it, had his Majeſty but ſimply given his conſent. Could M. *de la Fayette*, however, who had as yet done ſo little to regain the King's confidence, who well knew his Majeſty's irreſolution, and particularly the horror he felt at every idea of civil war, reaſonably expect to obtain the conſent he aſked? He would have repaired all his errors by ſo ſignal a ſervice; and he ſincerely wiſhed it: but unfortunately with too little energy to dare to take the only reſolution which could ſucceed, that of attempting, at the riſk of his life, to ſave the King without his knowledge, without the hazard of involving him, and depending on his approbation in caſe of ſucceſs. The words ſaid to have been ſpoken by *Luckner*, and atteſted by ſeveral Members

bers of the Commiſſion of the Twelve, evidently ſhowed that M. *de la Fayette* had this project in view. The Jacobins were convinced of it, and flattered themſelves that the inquiry ordered by the Aſſembly would yield the moſt ſatisfactory proofs to ground a decree of impeachment againſt the Counter-revolutionary General, but they were completely diſappointed. M. *Bureaux de Puzy* being ſummoned to the Bar of the Aſſembly, gave a very circumſtantial account of the buſineſs on which he had been ſent to Mareſchal *Luckner*, and proved by the correſpondence of the two Generals, whoſe letters he read and laid upon the table, that M. *de la Fayette* had never propoſed, or cauſed to be propoſed to the Mareſchal, to march to Paris at the head of his army, but had only conſulted him on the deſign he had of going there alone, after the outrages of the 20th of June, and of taking the ſtep that had ſo violently exaſperated the Jacobins. Before he ſet out, he had requeſted to know whether Mareſchal *Luckner* thought it would be attended with any detriment to the ſervice with which they were charged in common, and for which they were both reſponſible. M. *Bureaux de*

de Puzy demonſtrated that this was the whole object of his miſſion. He pleaded his own cauſe, and that of the two Generals, ably and nobly, and was loudly applauded by all the *Coté-droit*, and by ſeveral Members of the *Coté-gauche*.

In a letter to the Aſſembly, the Mareſchal formally diſowned the words that had been attributed to him, lamented the difficulty he had in explaining himſelf in French, expreſſed the pain he felt at finding ſo dreadful a turn given to a converſation miſunderſtood, and declared, that if the propoſal of marching againſt Paris had been made to him by any agent whatever of the public force, he ſhould not have been contented with rejecting it with horror, but ſhould have thought it his duty to denounce ſo criminal a project to the Conſtituted Authorities.

M. *de la Fayette*, to whom the denunciation made againſt him by the Members of the Commiſſion of the Twelve, and the Act of the Legiſlative Body of the 21ſt of July had been ſignified by the Miniſter of the Interior, replied alſo by a letter, the principles and firmneſs of which were

loudly applauded by the Conſtitutional party. It was as follows:

"If I were queſtioned reſpecting my "principles, I ſhould ſay, that a conſtant "proclaimer and defender of the Rights of "Man, and the ſovereignty of nations, I "have everywhere and always reſiſted au- "thorities which liberty diſavowed, and "which the national will had not delegated; "and that I have everywhere and always "obeyed thoſe, the forms and limits of "which were ſettled by a free Conſtitution. "But I am queſtioned reſpecting a fact. "Did I propoſe to Mareſchal *Luckner* to "march to Paris with our armies? To "which I anſwer in four words—*It is not* "*true.*

"LA FAYETTE."

The Aſſembly referred theſe different papers to the Commiſſion of the Twelve, and directed them to make a report upon them in eight days. They deſtroyed the principal means on which the Jacobins had depended for ruining M. *de la Fayette*, but this did not diminiſh their animoſity againſt him. Their Journals and pamphlets daily unmaſked

maſked pretended conſpiracies, of which he was accuſed of being the leader. The orators of the Palais-Royal groups called down upon him the execration of all good patriots, to whom they marked out beforehand as his accomplices all the Members of the Aſſembly who ſhould be ſo baſe as to vote for him.

The Manifeſto of the Powers at length appeared, and for a moment gave a pauſe to the manœuvres which agitated the Capital. This Manifeſto, ſo much expected, was not that, the plan of which had been propoſed by *Mallet-du-Pan*, and agreed to, but one drawn up by *Dulimon*, as dictated by the Miniſters of the Emperor and King of Pruſſia; and the Duke of *Brunſwick*, who ſigned it as Commander in Chief, had not even been conſulted upon it. The publication of it produced an effect the very reverſe of what had been expected. All parties, ſome violent Royaliſts excepted, were provoked at the boaſtings of the Duke of *Brunſwick*, or laughed at them. The factious did not fail to attribute to the ſuggeſtions of the King all the menaces reſpecting the ſafety of himſelf and his family, and thence concluded that his Majeſty was in correſpond-

ence with the enemies of the nation. How could it be expected that the threat of giving up Paris to be pillaged would have any effect upon the Jacobins, few of whom had any property there? Still leſs was it calculated to intimidate the brigands, who had flocked thither in ſuch numbers, only in the hope of that very pillage, for which they would not have failed to join the Auſtrians and Pruſſians. It would have been leſs abſurd, and more efficacious, to have threatened to level with the ground, in all the towns taken, the houſes belonging to the Preſidents and principal ſpeakers of the Jacobin Clubs, and to give up to pillage all the apartments in which they were lodgers. Had a ſingle example of this kind been made, it is probable, that moſt of the Jacobins of the kingdom would have been turned into the ſtreets.

This Manifeſto has been ſo much talked of, and the circumſtances under which it was publiſhed render it of ſuch great importance, that I cannot diſpenſe with reporting it. It was as follows:

"DECLA-

" DECLARATION *addreſſed by his Moſt Se-*
" *rene Highneſs the reigning Duke of*
" *Brunſwick Lunenburgh, commanding*
" *the combined Armies of their Majeſties*
" *the Emperor and the King of France,*
" *to the Inhabitants of France*.*

" Their Majeſties the Emperor and the
" King of Pruſſia having entruſted me with
" the command of the combined armies aſ-
" ſembled on the frontiers of France, I
" think it my duty to inform the inhabitants
" of that kingdom of the motives which
" have influenced the conduct of the two
" Sovereigns, and of the principles by which
" they are guided.

" After arbitrarily ſuppreſſing the rights
" and invading the poſſeſſions of the Ger-
" man Princes in Alſace and Lorraine;
" after having diſturbed and overthrown in
" the interior part of the kingdom all order
" and lawful government; after having
" been guilty of the moſt daring attacks,

* The King of Pruſſia publiſhed at the ſame time a brief declaration of the reaſons which had induced him to take up arms againſt France. See Appendix, No. XXIX.

" and having had recourſe to the moſt vio-
" lent meaſures, which are ſtill daily re-
" newed, againſt the ſacred perſon of the
" King, and againſt his auguſt Family—
" thoſe who have ſeized on the reigns of
" Government have at length filled the mea-
" ſure of their guilt, by declaring an unjuſt
" war againſt his Majeſty the Emperor,
" and by invading the provinces of the
" Low Countries. Some of the poſſeſſions
" belonging to the German Empire have
" been equally expoſed to the ſame oppreſ-
" ſion; and many others have only avoided
" the danger, by yielding to the imperious
" threats of the domineering party, and of
" their emiſſaries.

" His Majeſty the King of Pruſſia, united
" with his Imperial Majeſty in the bands of
" the ſtricteſt defenſive alliance, and as a
" preponderant Member himſelf of the
" Germanic Body, could not refuſe march-
" ing to the aſſiſtance of his Ally and of
" his Co-Eſtates. It is under this double
" relation that he undertakes the defence of
" that Monarch and of Germany.

" To theſe high intereſts is added another
" important object, and which both the
" Sovereigns have moſt cordially in view,

" which

" which is to put an end to that anarchy " which prevails in the interior parts of " France, to put a ſtop to the attacks made " on the Throne and the Altar, to reſtore " the King to his legitimate power, to li- " berty and to ſafety, of which he is now " deprived, and to place him in ſuch a " ſituation, that he may exerciſe that le- " gitimate authority to which he is en- " titled.

" Convinced that the ſober part of the " nation deteſts the exceſſes of a faction " which has enſlaved them, and that the " majority of the inhabitants wait with " impatience the moment when ſuccours " ſhall arrive, to declare themſelves openly " againſt the odious enterpriſes of their " oppreſſors; his Majeſty the Emperor, " and his Majeſty the King of Pruſſia, ear- " neſtly invite them to return without delay " into the paths of reaſon and of juſtice, of " order and peace. It is with this view " that I, the underwritten, General Com- " mandant in Chief of the two armies, do " declare—

" 1ſt, That drawn into the preſent war " by irreſiſtible circumſtances, the two " Allied Courts have no other object in

" view than the welfare of France, without " any pretence to enrich themſelves by " making conqueſts.

" 2dly, That they do not mean to meddle " with the internal Government of France, " but that they ſimply intend to deliver the " King, the Queen, and the Royal Family, " from their captivity, and to enſure to his " Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty that ſafety which " is neceſſary for his making, without dan- " ger and without obſtacles, ſuch convoca- " tions as he ſhall judge proper; and for " endeavouring to enſure the welfare of his " ſubjects, according to his promiſes, and " to the utmoſt of his power.

" 3dly, That the combined armies ſhall " protect the towns, bourgs, and villages, " as well as the perſons and property of all " thoſe who ſhall ſubmit to the King; and " that they will concur in the immediate " reſtoration of order and police throughout " all France.

" 4thly, That the National guards are " called upon to preſerve, proviſionally, " tranquillity in towns and in the country, " to provide for the perſonal ſafety and pro- " perty of all Frenchmen, until the arrival " of the troops belonging to their Imperial

" and

" and Royal Majeſties, or until orders be " given to the contrary, on pain of being " perſonally reſponſible: that, on the con- " trary, ſuch National guards as ſhall fight " againſt the troops of the two Allied " Courts, and who ſhall be taken with " arms in their hands, ſhall be treated as " enemies, and puniſhed as rebels to their " King, and as diſturbers of the public " peace.

" 5thly; That the General Officers, the " ſubalterns, and ſoldiers of the French " regular troops, are equally called upon to " return to their former allegiance, and to " ſubmit immediately to the King their le- " gitimate Sovereign,

" 6thly, That the Members of the Depart- " ments, Diſtricts, and Municipalities, " ſhall be equally reſponſible, on pain of " loſing their heads and their eſtates, for " all the crimes, all the conflagrations, all " the murders and the pillage which they " ſhall ſuffer to take place, and which they " ſhall not have, in a public manner, at- " tempted to prevent within their reſpective " territories; that they ſhall alſo be obliged " to continue their functions until his " Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, when ſet at " full

" full liberty, ſhall make further arrange-
" ments, or till further orders be given in
" his name.

" 7thly, That the inhabitants of towns,
" bourgs, and villages, who ſhall dare to
" defend themſelves againſt the troops of
" their Imperial and Royal Majeſties, and
" to fire upon them, either in open country,
" or through half open doors or windows
" of their houſes, ſhall be puniſhed in-
" ſtantly, according to the rigorous rules of
" war, or their houſes ſhall be demoliſhed
" or burned. On the contrary, all the in-
" habitants of the ſaid towns, bourgs, and
" villages, who ſhall readily ſubmit to their
" King, by opening their gates to the troops
" belonging to their Majeſties, ſhall be
" immediately under their ſafeguard and
" protection; their eſtates, their property,
" and their perſons, ſhall be ſecured by the
" laws, and each and all of them ſhall be
" in full ſafety.

" 8thly, The city of Paris, and all its
" inhabitants, without diſtinction, ſhall be
" called upon to ſubmit inſtantly, and
" without delay, to the King; to ſet that
" Prince at full liberty, and to enſure to his
" and to all Royal perſons that inviolability

" and

" and reſpect which are due, by the laws
" of nature and of nations, to Sovereigns:
" their Imperial and Royal Majeſties mak-
" ing perſonally reſponſible for all events,
" on pain of loſing their heads purſuant to
" military trials, without hopes of pardon,
" all the Members of the National Aſſem-
" bly, of the Department, of the Diſtrict,
" of the Municipality, and of the National
" guards of Paris, Juſtices of Peace, and
" others whom it may concern; and their
" Imperial and Royal Majeſties farther de-
" clare, on their faith and word of Empe-
" ror and King, that if the Palace of the
" Thuilleries be forced or inſulted—if the
" leaſt violence be offered, the leaſt outrage
" done to their Majeſties, the King, the
" the Queen, and the Royal Family—if
" they be not immediately placed in ſafety
" and ſet at liberty, they will *inflict on*
" *thoſe who ſhall deſerve it the moſt exem-*
" *plary and ever-memorable avenging pu-*
" *niſhments, by giving up the city of Paris*
" *to military execution, and expoſing it to*
" *total deſtruction; and the rebels who*
" *ſhall be guilty of illegal reſiſtance, ſhall*
" *ſuffer the puniſhments which they ſhall*
" *have deſerved.* Their Imperial and
" Royal

" Royal Majeſties promiſe, on the con-
" trary, to all the inhabitants of the city
" of Paris, to employ their good offices
" with his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, to pro-
" cure for them a pardon for their inſults
" and errors, and to adopt the moſt vigo-
" rous meaſures for the ſecurity of their
" perſons and property, provided they ſpeed-
" ily and ſtrictly conform to the above in-
" junctions.

" Finally, their Majeſties not being at
" liberty to acknowledge any other laws in
" France, except thoſe which ſhall be de-
" rived from the King when at full liberty,
" proteſt beforehand againſt the authenti-
" city of all kinds of declarations which
" may be iſſued in the name of the King,
" ſo long as his ſacred perſon, and that of
" the Queen and the Princes of the whole
" Royal Family, ſhall not be in in full
" ſafety; and with this view, their Imperial
" and Royal Majeſties *invite and entreat*
" *his Majeſty to name a town in his king-*
" *dom, neareſt to the frontiers, to which*
" *he would wiſh to remove, together with*
" *the Queen and the Royal Family, under*
" *a ſtrong and ſafe eſcort, which ſhall be*
" *ſent for that purpoſe*; ſo that his Moſt
" Chriſtian

" Chriſtian Majeſty may, in perfect ſafety,
" ſend for ſuch Miniſters and Counſellors
" as he ſhall be pleaſed to name; order
" ſuch convocations as he ſhall think pro-
" per, and provide for the reſtoration of
" order and the regular adminiſtration of
" his kingdom.

" In fine, I declare and promiſe in my
" own individual name, and in my above
" quality, to cauſe to be obſerved every-
" where, by the troops under my command,
" good and ſtrict diſcipline, promiſing to
" treat with mildneſs and moderation thoſe
" well-diſpoſed ſubjects who ſhall ſubmit
" peaceably and quietly, and to employ
" force againſt thoſe only who ſhall be
" guilty of reſiſtance, or of manifeſt evil
" intentions.

" I therefore call upon and expect all the
" inhabitants of the kingdom, in the moſt
" earneſt and forcible manner, not to make
" any oppoſition to the troops under my
" command, but rather to ſuffer them every-
" where to enter the kingdom freely, and
" to afford them all the aſſiſtance, and ſhew
" them all the benevolence, which circum-
" ſtances may require.

" Given

" Given at General Quarters at Coblentz,
" July 25, 1792.

" Signed,

" CHARLES GUILLAUME FERDINAND
" DUC DE BRUNSWICK LUNENBURG."

Two days after this declaration was publiſhed, the Duke of *Brunſwick* iſſued an additional one on account of the report that had been ſpread, that the Jacobins meant to remove the King and Royal Family to the South of France, as ſoon as the combined armies entered our frontiers. They certainly never had any ſuch deſign. The factious were too acute not to perceive, that by ſo changing the country, or at leaſt removing the ſeat of the Revolution, they would have entirely diſorganized it. For in what part of France would they have been able to find the reſources and means of power of every kind which they had collected in the Capital? To have removed them from it, therefore, might have been of great advantage; but the additional declaration tended, on the contrary, to keep them there. In that the Duke of *Brunſwick* ſaid, " I declare, that " if, contrary to all expectation, by the " perfidy

" perfidy or baſeneſs of ſome inhabitants of " Paris, the King, the Queen, or any other " perſon of the Royal Family, ſhould be " carried off from that city, all the places " and towns whatſoever which ſhall not " have oppoſed their paſſage, and ſhall not " have ſtopped their proceeding, ſhall incur " the ſame puniſhments as thoſe inflicted on " the inhabitants of Paris; and the route " which ſhall be taken by thoſe who carry " off the King and Royal Family, ſhall be " marked with a ſeries of exemplary pu- " niſhments, juſtly due to the authors and " abettors of crimes for which there is no " remiſſion."

The French Princes alſo publiſhed, on the 8th of Auguſt, a declaration containing a ſincere ſtatement of their conduct, reaſons, ſentiments, and intentions *.

No doubt was entertained beyond the Rhine, that theſe different declarations would enſure perfect ſafety for the King and his family, that they would ſpread alarm and the ſpirit of deſertion among the patriots,

* This important paper was not known at Paris till towards the end of Auguſt. See Appendix, No. XXX.

and

and that they would aſſemble in the combined armies, on their entering France, all the Royaliſts of the interior, the adherents of the nobility, clergy, and Parliaments of the old ſyſtem, and all diſſatisfied perſons; but thoſe threats, too ridiculouſly heightened to be believed ſincere, neither frightened nor induced any one to join the armies.

The factious ſhowed more ability in their choice of means to promote deſertion in the foreign armies. They laid it down as a principle, "that deſertion was but an ho-"nourable exerciſe of a natural right, when "any one choſe to leave a land of ſlavery, "to take refuge in one of liberty: that "free men were but of one country, and "that there could exiſt no obligation on the "part of a man deprived of his natural "rights, towards him who had deprived "him of them." On this principle the Aſſembly, on the 2d of Auguſt, in conſequence of *Guadet*'s report, paſſed the following decree:

"1. Every officer or ſoldier of the ene-"my's army, who, deſiring to range them-"ſelves under the banner of liberty, ſhall "appear at a military poſt, or before one "of the Conſtituted Authorities, as a "French

" French citizen, ſhall be received with " fraternal affection; ſhall be preſented, as " a ſign of his adoption, with a cockade of " three colours; ſhall enjoy a penſion for " life of an hundred livres, of which one " quarter ſhall be always in advance, and " ſhall be admitted to take the Civic Oath. " The penſion, upon their deceaſe, ſhall be " continued to their widows.

" 2. Thoſe who would not contract a " military engagement, ſhall not be forced " to it; thoſe who chuſe it, ſhall be admit- " ted to what army they pleaſe, and ſhall " receive the ordinary fee upon enliſting.

" 3. Liſts ſhall be formed of foreigners " in the ſervice of France, and the penſions " of thoſe who die ſhall be continued to " the ſurvivors, till the latter ſhall have an- " nuities of five hundred livres each.

" 4. The widows of ſuch military per- " ſons will receive the annual penſion of " one hundred livres, but will not ſhare " the benefits of the tontine.

" 5. Thoſe who do not take a military " engagement, ſhall retire into the interior " parts of the kingdom; thoſe who ſhall " ſerve, will have the ſame reward for bril- " liant actions as French citizens."

Could there be a more alluring bait for all ſuch ſoldiers as wanted ſpirit, were diſguſted with ſervice, diſſatisfied with their officers or their pay, than the certainty of being paid, and in advance, without having any thing to do, or being expoſed to any danger? And ſo it happened; for the conſequence of this decree was, that deſertions from the Auſtrian and Pruſſian armies were very much increaſed, whereas the Duke of *Brunſwick*'s Manifeſto made no impreſſion on the French ſoldiers.

CHAP-

CHAPTER XXVII.

Letter from the King to the Aſſembly on the Duke of Brunſwick's Declaration—Petitions and Addreſſes for the Depoſition of the King—M. Vaublanc remonſtrates againſt the tumultuous Conduct of the Galleries—Appearance of the Court on the 5th of Auguſt—The King changes his Reſolution of leaving Paris—Conduct of the Duke de Liancourt. A ſudden Project formed for the King's Eſcape by Compiegne—How fruſtrated—The Motion for a Decree of Impeachment againſt M. de la Fayette rejected—Petition for the King's Depoſition, ſigned by

the Federates and others in the Champs-de-Mars—Terms demanded by Briſſot for preventing the expected Inſurrection—Santerre's Terms—The Deputies who defended M. de la Fayette inſulted and attacked in the Streets—Reſolution of the Section of the Quinze-Vingts—Ferment of the Capital—Preparations for defending the Palace—Election of a New Commune.

ALTHOUGH the Duke of *Brunſwick*'s manifeſto was not officially known, the general knowledge of it, and its appearance in all the Gazettes, ſufficiently proved its exiſtence to make it neceſſary for the King to take ſome notice of it to the Legiſlative Body. The Miniſters therefore went to the Aſſembly on the 3d of Auguſt, and delivered the following letter to the Preſident:

" Mr. Preſident,

" For ſeveral days a paper has been cir-
" culated, entitled, *The Declaration of the*
" *reigning Duke of Brunſwick-Lunen-*
" *burgh, Commander of the Combined Ar-*
mies

" *mies of their Majeſties the Emperor and*
" *the King of Pruſſia, addreſſed to the in-*
" *habitants of France.* This paper exhi-
" bits nothing that can be conſidered as a
" proof of its authenticity. It has not
" been tranſmitted by any of my Miniſters
" at the ſeveral Courts of Germany near
" our frontiers. The publication of it,
" nevertheleſs, ſeems to me to require a
" new declaration of my ſentiments and my
" principles.

" France is menaced by a great combina-
" tion of forces. Let us all recollect the
" neceſſity of union. Calumny will not
" eaſily believe the ſorrow I feel in conſi-
" dering the diſſenſions that exiſt among us,
" and the evils gathering around us; but
" thoſe who know of what value in my
" eyes are the blood and the fortune of
" the people, will give credit to my un-
" eaſineſs and my grief.

" I brought with me pacific ſentiments
" to the throne, becauſe peace, the firſt
" bleſſing of nations, is the firſt duty of
" Kings. My former Miniſters know what
" efforts I have made to avoid war. I felt
" how neceſſary peace was; that alone could
" enlighten the nation on the new form of

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" her government; that alone, by ſparing the " ſufferings of the people, could make me " ſupport the character I undertook in the " Revolution. But I yielded to the unani- " mous opinion of my Council, to the " wiſh manifeſted by a great part of the " nation, and ſeveral times expreſſed by " the National Aſſembly.

" When war was declared, I neglected " none of the means of aſſuring its ſucceſs*. " My Miniſters received orders to concert " meaſures with the Committees of the " National Aſſembly and with the Generals. " If the event has not yet anſwered the " hopes of the nation, ought we not to lay " the blame on our inteſtine diviſions, the " progreſs of the ſpirit of party, and above " all, on the ſtate of our armies, which " required to be more practiſed in the uſe of " arms before they were led to combat? But " the nation ſhall ſee my efforts increaſe " with thoſe of the hoſtile powers; I will " take, in concert with the National Aſ- " ſembly, every means to turn the evils in-

* The reading was here ſcandalouſly interrupted by the murmurs that broke out in one part of the Hall, and by the clamour of the galleries.

" ſeparable

" ſeparable from war to the advantage of
" its liberty and glory.

" I have accepted the Conſtitution; the
" majority of the nation deſired it; I ſaw
" that the nation conſidered it as the foun-
" dation of its happineſs, and its happi-
" neſs is the ſole object of my life.

" From that moment, I impoſed it as a
" law upon myſelf, to be faithful to the
" Conſtitution*; and I gave orders to my
" Miniſters to make it the rule of their
" conduct. I wiſhed not to ſubſtitute my
" knowledge for experience, nor my opi-
" nion for my oath. It was my duty to
" labour for the good of the people: I
" have diſcharged that duty; and to have
" done ſo is enough to ſatisfy the conſcience
" of an honeſt man. Never ſhall I be ſeen
" compounding the glory or the intereſts of
" the nation; never receiving the law from
" reigners or from a party; it is to the na-
" tion that I am bound; I am one and the
" ſame with it; no intereſt ſhall ſeparate me
" from it; the nation alone ſhall be liſtened
" to, and I will maintain the National inde-

* Here the murmurs and clamours were redoubled, and even the words *it is not true* were heard!

" pendence with my laſt breath. Perſonal
" dangers compared with public dangers,
" are nothing. What are perſonal dan-
" gers to a King, from whom it is at-
" tempted to alenate the love of the people?
" There lies the real wound of my heart.
" The people, perhaps, will one day know
" how dear to me their happineſs is, how
" much it has always been my ſole intereſt,
" my firſt wiſh. How many griefs might
" be effaced by the ſlighteſt marks of its
" return!"

This letter, in which the King with ſincerity and candour, and in ſo affecting a manner mentioned his principles, his conduct, his ſentiments, and his ſufferings, was heard without the leaſt emotion by a great majority of this brutal Aſſembly. They even dared to refuſe to order its being printed, under a pretence of its containing ſentiments of which the King had as yet given no ſufficient proof. " It is not in
" empty letters," it was ſaid, " but in
" actions of great energy, that the formal
" act of reſiſtance, which the Conſtitution
" preſcribes to the King againſt enemies

" who

" who make war upon us and his name,
" conſiſts."

Iſnard aſcended the tribune in rage, and undertook to prove by his vociferations that the conduct of the King was as contrary to the Conſtitution as his language was conformable to it; and that, not ſatisfied with having done nothing that he ought to have done to ſupport a foreign war ſucceſsfully, to prevent a civil one, and to put a ſtop to the plan of Counter-revolution formed by a factious nobility and rebellious prieſts, he had obſtructed all the meaſures of the Aſſembly.

To complete the ſcandal of this Sitting, *Petion* appeared at the head of a deputation from the Commune, and recapitulated the pretended grievances the nation had to complain of againſt the King ſince the opening of the States-General, and the pretended favours conferred by the nation on *Louis* XVI. The infamous petition he brought concluded thus:

" From a remaining inclination to indul-
" gence, we could have wiſhed it were in
" our power to aſk of you only the ſuſ-
" penſion of *Louis* XVI. while the danger
" of the country exiſted; but this the Con-
" ſtitution

" ſtitution forbids. *Louis* XVI. inceſſantly
" invokes the Conſtitution: we invoke it
" in our turn, and demand his depoſition.
" This grand meaſure once adopted, it
" being very doubtful that the nation can
" have confidence in the preſent dynaſty,
" we demand that Miniſters, jointly re-
" ſponſible, propoſed by the National Aſ-
" ſembly, but not any of their own Mem-
" bers, according to the Conſtitutional act,
" and choſen by the open votes of free
" men, ſhould exerciſe proviſionally the
" Executive Power, until the will of the
" people, your Sovereign and ours, be le-
" gally declared in a National Convention,
" as ſoon as the ſafety of the State ſhall
" permit it. Meanwhile, let our enemies,
" whoever they be, all aſſemble beyond our
" frontiers; let the baſe and the perjured
" deſert the land of liberty, and let 300,000
" ſlaves advance, they ſhall find before
" them ten millions of free men ready for
" death or victory, fighting for equality,
" for their paternal roofs, their wives, their
" children, and their aged friends. Let
" every one of us be à ſoldier in his turn;
" and if we are deſtined to have the honour
" of dying for our country, let each of us,

" before

" before he yields his laſt breath, render his " memory illuſtrious by the death of a ſlave " or of a tyrant."

Theſe ridiculous rhodomantades and theſe demands, the leaſt fault of which was their entire oppoſition to the Conſtitution, were applauded with rapture; and the Aſſembly, who, had they done their duty, would have ſent the petition of the Commune of Paris to a Court of Juſtice for the purpoſe of trying the petitioners, referred it to the Commiſſion of the Twelve.

The Commune having thus with impunity given the ſignal of rebellion, were ſoon followed by the Sections. That of Mauconſeil entered on the ſame day into a Reſolution, the ſubſtance of which was as follows: " Conſidering that it is impoſſible to ſave " Liberty by the Conſtitution, that conſe- " quently ſo far the Conſtitution cannot be " regarded as the expreſſion of the general " will; conſidering that *Louis* XVI. has " loſt the confidence of the nation, the Aſ- " ſembly, met to the number of 600 and " upwards, declare, in the moſt authentic " and ſolemn manner to all their brethren, " that they no longer acknowledge *Louis* " XVI. as King of the French, and that, in " renewing

" renewing the oath of living and dying free, " and of being faithful to the nation, they " retract the remainder of their oath, the " public credulity having been deluded into " it: and they do in conſequence RESOLVE, " that on Sunday next the 5th of Auguſt, " they will go all together to the Legiſlative " Body to acquaint them with the preſent " declaration, and to aſk them whether they " will at length ſave the country, reſerving " themſelves, according to the anſwer they " ſhall receive, to take a ſuitable determina- " tion; vowing beforehand, that they will " rather bury themſelves under the ruins of " liberty than ſubſcribe to the deſpotiſm of " Kings: they do moreover RESOLVE, " that an addreſs ſhall be ſent to the 47 " other Sections, and to all the Communes " of the Department of Paris, containing " an invitation to ſupport the preſent Reſo- " lution, and to join them on the ſaid day, " Sunday, Auguſt 5th, at eleven o'clock in " the morning, to appear before the Legiſ- " lative Body."

The addreſs which accompanied this Reſolution was not only ſeditious, but regicide. I ſhall cite only the following paſſage of it: " Already has a contemptible tyrant

" tyrant too long ſported with our fate; let us
" beware of poſtponing his puniſhment till
" he has ſecured his triumph. Citizens!
" rouſe, and remember that a tyrant never
" pardons. Without ſtill waſting our time in
" weighing his errors, crimes, and perjuries,
" let us ſtrike the frightful Coloſſus of deſpo-
" tiſm; let it fall, let it be daſhed to pieces,
" and let the noiſe of its fall make tyrants
" to the extremities of the world grow pale."

This addreſs appointed the *Boulevard de la Magdeleine* as the general place of meeting. The Aſſembly conſidering theſe acts as derogatory to their authority, and as a manifeſt uſurpation of their power, annulled them as unconſtitutional, and in the ſame decree, invited all the citizens to confine their zeal within the limits of the law. Petitions, however, the moſt inconſiſtent with the Conſtitution, were not in their eyes out of thoſe limits. In the ſame Sitting, and almoſt at the ſame inſtant, they received, not only without diſapprobation but with applauſe, a petition from the Section of the Gravilliers, requiring them in the moſt imperious tone to declare immediately that there were grounds for an impeachment of *Louis* XVI. " We yet

" leave

" leave to you," added the ſpeaker of the deputation, " the honour of ſaving the " country; but if you refuſe to do it, it " will certainly behove us to take the reſo- " lution of ſaving it ourſelves."

The applauſes of the *Coté-gauche* and acclamations of the galleries redoubled when this deputation, admitted to the honours of the Sitting, croſſed the Hall. It would not have been eaſy to find a more effectual method of encouraging, addreſſes and petitions for the depoſition of the King; and it was accordingly voted by acclamation in leſs than four-and-twenty hours by all the Sections of Paris, except thoſe of the *Bibliotheque* and *Arſenal*, who, reſiſting with indignation all the attempts that were made to ſeduce them, had the noble courage to proteſt ſolemnly againſt the addreſs of the *Commune* demanding the depoſition of the King. They notified their proteſt to the Aſſembly by petitions, in which that addreſs was denounced as unconſtitutional, framed without any authority on their part, and as injurious to the patriotiſm and good ſenſe of the citizens of the Capital. Theſe petitions called forth the murmurs of the *Coté-gauche*, and were hooted by

by the galleries. Some Members of the *Coté-droit* who attempted to remonſtrate againſt this ſhameful behaviour, were interrupted at every word by ſtill louder murmurs. The brave and worthy *Vaublanc*, incenſed at the uproar, and prevailing over it by the ſtrength of his voice, cenſured the Aſſembly with great energy for bearing ſuch indignities. "It is not," ſaid he, "by "yielding to the clamours of the galleries, "and thus baſely ſacrificing our duties, that "we are to give the brave defenders of the "country an example of the courage that "ſhould animate citizens fighting for li-"berty; if it is not to reign within theſe "walls I ſhall no where ſee public liberty. "If then theſe vociferations are to continue, "if I cannot ſpeak my opinion freely here, "I ſhall move, not with clamour, but very "coolly, that we leave Paris. This will be "the part of courage and of duty, if you "find that the people of this town wiſh to "domineer over you, and if the galleries "perſiſt to inſult by theſe clamours both the "National Sovereignty and the Conſtitu-"tional laws, without which you would be "nothing, and liberty but a phantom. I "move therefore that the Report prepared

"by

" by the Extraordinary Commiſſion reſpect-
" ing the galleries, and the order of your
" Sittings be made to-morrow."

This motion was decreed*, but almoſt at the ſame inſtant the Aſſembly had the cowardice to admit to the Bar a number of people, who ſaid that they were deputed by ſeveral Sections of Paris to ſtate their adherence to the declaration of the Section of Mauconſeil, which had juſt been annulled as unconſtitutional, and yet theſe people obtained the honour of marching into the Hall to the number of twenty.

The depoſition of the King was not only the object of the numberleſs petitions daily preſented to the Aſſembly through the means of the Jacobins, it had become the general cry of the populace, who, without ſuſpecting the real meaning of the word, had it perpetually in their mouths, and ſtupidly thought that the depoſition would be a remedy for every thing; that it would lower the price of bread and meat; that the Civil Liſt would be divided among the patriots, that is to ſay, the *Sans-Culottes*; that all

* The Extraordinary Commiſſion of the Twelve, a great part of whom were Girondiſts, did not make this report either next day, or the days following.

the

the offices and employments would be filled or diſpoſed of by them, &c. It was thus that the factious had prepared their minds for the event which was to complete the deſtruction of the Monarchy; an event which it was impoſſible not to ſee was very rapidly advancing, and which it was no longer in the King's power to avoid but by leaving Paris. I did not doubt therefore that his Majeſty would be more convinced than ever of the neceſſity of abiding by that determination, and I went on the 4th of Auguſt to M. *de Montmorin*'s, to ſettle finally with him all the preparations and arrangements relative to the King's departure.

Suffering day and night for ſix weeks the moſt dreadful anxiety for the dangers of the King, I was not aware that I was loſing my health till I was made ſenſible of it by a very painful indiſpoſition which prevented my walking or ſtanding upright without the greateſt difficulty. I nevertheleſs collected all my ſtrength to attend the King's levee on Sunday the 5th of Auguſt. The Court had never been more brilliant, or at leaſt more numerous than it was on that day. The lively intereſt and general uneaſineſs created by the ſituation of the King

and Queen were painted on every countenance. One ſeemed to read in the looks of all the painful expreſſion of a laſt adieu. I could not long ſupport this affecting ſcene; I tore myſelf away, my eyes filled with tears, to go and wait for M. *Lefort*, whoſe return I expected every hour, and far was I at that moment from thinking that I had ſeen the King and Royal Family for the laſt time.

The account M. *Lefort* gave me of his miſſion was in the higheſt degree ſatisfactory, and my hopes buoyed me up for a moment, but they all vaniſhed on my receiving a meſſage from the King and Queen with an order to ſuſpend the preparations for their departure, as it was their Majeſties' intentions to reſerve that ſtep for the laſt extremity.* In my converſation with M. *de Montmorin* on this fatal change, he told me that he was poſitively informed that it was the Queen who ſet his Majeſty againſt the ſcheme of taking refuge in Gaillon, although ſhe had at firſt approved of it; but her diſtruſt of the Duke *de Liancourt*,

* See Private Memoirs, Vol. III. Chap. XXXI. and XXXII.

who

who commanded in that part of Normandy, afterwards determined her againſt that plan. "M. *Bertrand* does not conſider," ſhe ſaid, "that he is throwing us "into the hands of Conſtitutionaliſts."

Beſides, they had juſt heard that the Pruſſian army was in motion. Nobody doubted but that the Duke of *Brunſwick*'s plan was to march ſtraight to Paris; and it was thought that the French army were too weak and too ill commanded to reſiſt the diſciplined Germans, led by ſo experienced a General; and that our troops would take flight at his approach. Some private adviſers of the Queen wiſhed this too much not to believe it; and it was on theſe chimerical conjectures, that the deluded Court founded their hopes.

With reſpect to the Duke *de Liancourt*, I had not become acquainted with him till the months of May 1792, and till then I never paid ſufficient attention to his conduct to enable me to form any judgment of it. He ſought my acquaintance, becauſe his aſſiduous attendance at the Palace gave him an opportunity of knowing that I kept up a particular correſpondence with the King; the object of his firſt viſit was,

to inform me of the means he had of ſerving his Majeſty in Normandy, whither he was then going. He had entirely gained the confidence of the regiments under his command there, as well as of the Department and Municipality; his deſign was to take every opportunity of rendering the Jacobins odious, of oppoſing Republican ideas, and ſtrengthening the attachment which prevailed in that province for the King and Conſtitution.

The Duke foreſaw that the King would be forced to leave the Capital, and Normandy appeared to him the Province in which his Majeſty would be likely to meet with the moſt cordial reception, and where he would find himſelf in greateſt ſecurity. Beſides, Normandy was the only Province in which he could take refuge without paſſing the bounds preſcribed by the Conſtitution. It was upon this occaſion that the Duke *de Liancourt* told me, that if the King wanted money, as there was reaſon to fear would be the caſe, all his fortune, one hundred louis d'or a year excepted, was at his Majeſty's diſpoſal; and that by giving him notice, only a fortnight beforehand, he could furniſh a million of livres at leaſt.

The

The Duke *de Liancourt* obſerving the air of ſurpriſe with which I liſtened to his propoſal, entered into a circumſtantial account of the motives of his conduct in the Aſſembly, and the different proofs he had given the King of his attachment. This explanation appeared to me ſincere, and left a ſufficient impreſſion upon me to induce me to make a note of it; but I have no reaſon to be ſatisfied with myſelf for the uſe I made of it*.

I could

* I am obliged to ſay, that I was for a long time convinced of the ſincerity of the Duke *de Liancourt*'s ſentiments, and that I ſhould ſtill have remained in that error, if he had not taken pains himſelf to undeceive me. I ſaw him frequently while he was in London, and in all the viſits I received from him after the King's death, he ſhed tears with me for the fate of that unfortunate Prince. He was forever thinking and ſpeaking of it, and was entirely occupied with a work intended to vindicate his memory. I was greatly charmed with theſe demonſtrations of attachment, and was even ſimple enough to believe, as he told me, that he was going to America only to fly from every thing elſe, and devote himſelf entirely to that work. The feelings raiſed by ſo laudable a zeal, led me to try to recover the good opinion of the French nobility for the Duke *de Liancourt*; and in the Private Memoirs, which I publiſhed in 1797, I gave a faithful ſtatement of the converſation I had had with him in 1792. It was not in my power at the time

I could not ſuſpect that at the very time I received the order for ſuſpending, and reſerving for the laſt extremity, the meaſures relative to the plan I had propoſed, the King was ſeriouſly conſidering another project for his departure. I was ignorant who the framer of it was, but would not doubt its exiſtence, when Madame *Elizabeth*, on being made acquainted with it, and terrified at the dangers it preſented, ſent the Baron *de Gilliers* to me at eleven o'clock at night on the 8th of Auguſt, to inquire whether I had propoſed it, and, if ſo, to prevail on me not to perſiſt in it. The circumſtances

to conſult him upon it, nor ſhould I have thought that neceſſary to do him the juſtice which I believed he deſerved. Little did I expect a reproach from him; I rather anticipated thanks for my good intentions; but his reſidence in America had entirely altered his ſentiments, or rather had revived thoſe which had put the Queen upon her guard againſt him. On his return, he addreſſed a letter to me, of which I knew nothing till I ſaw it in the Leyden Gazette, and in which he accuſed me of attributing words to him in my Memoirs which he had never ſpoken: theſe he underlined, as if he had really copied them verbatim from my work. In my anſwer, which was inſerted in ſeveral public papers, I proved to him that his quotations were erroneous, and his complaint unfounded. See theſe letters, APPENDIX, No. XXXI.

of

of this plan, mentioned to me by the Baron, convinced me that it was not mine. I begged him to aſſure Madame *Elizabeth* that it was not, and at the ſame time to tell her, that being convinced that the King's departure was indiſpenſable, I had propoſed another plan to him, which I did not doubt ſhe would be much leſs alarmed at if ſhe knew it; and that his Majeſty, after having decided for more than a week paſt to follow it, had changed his mind, which made me very miſerable.

I afterwards learned, that the plan which had ſo much alarmed Madame *Elizabeth*, was, that the King and Royal Family ſhould ſet out for Compiegne, where every thing was to be ready, to enable their Majeſties to leave the kingdom, in caſe of neceſſity, by the foreſt of Ardennes, and through the Principality of Beaumont. M. *d'Hervilly*, who was always about the King, had been informed, before I was, of the Queen's oppoſition to the plan of going to Gaillon, and his zeal had ſuggeſted this new one. The Princes had been appriſed of it through the means of a perſon of very high rank, the Count *de L.*, who was ſent to Coblentz, to concert with them the mili-

tary meaſures to be taken, if there ſhould be occaſion, for the ſafety of the Royal Family in their way through Ardennes and the Principality of Beaumont. Unfortunately, as he was paſſing through Bruſſels, the Count was invited to ſupper, where he had the indiſcretion to mention the object of his miſſion, or to ſuffer the maſter of the houſe to gueſs it. The next day the Editor of the Bruſſels' Gazette inſerted in his paper an article, ſtating the particulars of the plan for the King's going to Compiegne, which rendered the execution of it impoſſible. I have been aſſured that the very perſon with whom the Count *de L.* ſupped, ſent this Gazette to the King, adviſing him at the ſame time to be more careful in his confidence. The Princes, who had began to prepare for the execution of this plan, unable to conceive how the Editor of the Bruſſels' Gazette had gained the knowledge of it, ſent M. *de Beauharnois* to inquire into the fact. On his arrival at Bruſſels, and after much difficulty, which he overcame with fifty Louis d'ors, he obtained, firſt, the confeſſion of the Editor of the Gazette, that he received the article in queſtion from the Secretary of an old Miniſter of France, with

with whom the Count *de L.* had ſupped on his way through Bruſſels; and then the confeſſion of the Secretary himſelf, who ſaid that he was concealed behind an open door of a cloſet adjoining the room where the Miniſter and the Count *de L.* had a long private converſation; that he was placed ſo as to hear all that was ſaid, and that from a memorandum he had written of this converſation, the article in the Gazette had been drawn up. Although the information which I have received on theſe facts is poſitive, the facts themſelves are of ſuch a nature, that to be thoroughly convinced of them, or to paſs any judgment upon them, I ſhould wiſh to have heard myſelf the confeſſions of the Editor and Secretary, and to have confronted the latter with the Miniſter.

The diſheartening fatality that overturned, or led the King himſelf to reject, the beſt concerted meaſures for his ſafety, was as remarkable as the good fortune which was in a manner ſo propitious to the manœuvres of the factious, and to their very miſtakes, that they all equally concurred to the ſucceſs of their plan. Nothing certainly could be more impolitic than their animoſity and furious

rious declamations againſt M. *de la Fayette*, at a moment when he was the idol of his ſoldiers: and indeed, if the decree of impeachment, ſolicited by ſo many petitioners, had been paſſed againſt him, he might, without the leaſt difficulty, by virtue of the declaration of the Rights of Man, and by a very proper interpretation of the oath of maintaining the Conſtitution by every means in his power, have marched to Paris at the head of his army, and there exerciſed againſt the Clubs, and perhaps alſo againſt the Aſſembly themſelves, the right of reſiſting oppreſſion. We have ſeen in the preceding chapters, that he had determined on this part for the maintenance of the Conſtitution, and the ſafety of the King's perſon; and it may be preſumed, that when his own defence was added to theſe motives, his reſolutions would not have been leſs energetic. But ſuppoſing, againſt all probability, that M. *de la Fayette*'s army had refuſed to follow him, a decree of impeachment would ſtill have produced an effect very adverſe to the chief object of the factious, as it would have ſatisfied, and conſequently cooled, the people at a moment when it was of the greateſt importance to their views to keep their

their irritation at the higheſt pitch of fury, to be more certain of obtaining whatever outrages might be neceſſary to compel a decree for the King's depoſition: thus, in this buſineſs, the circumſtance that would moſt effectually have contributed to the ſucceſs of their execrable plan was, that the debate ſhould be prolonged, and grow warmer and warmer for ſeveral Sittings, till the ferment and fury of the people were raiſed to a ſufficient pitch, and then the propoſed decree of impeachment rejected. Such, unfortunately for the King, was the iſſue of this affair; the motion for the decree of impeachment was rejected in the Sitting of the 8th of Auguſt by a majority, on a call of votes, of 406 againſt 224.

The debate had been frequently interrupted by freſh petitions for the depoſition of the King. The moſt remarkable of theſe was one that had been ſigned in the *Champ-de-Mars* by the Federates, and by a great number of pretended citizens. This ſhameleſs rabble adopting nothing in the Conſtitution but the declaration of the Rights of Man, and looking upon all the reſt *as a long catalogue of ſhameful and liberticide tranſactions with the chief of the Executive Power*, demanded, in an imperious

imperious ſtyle, 1ſt, that a veil ſhould be thrown over the declaration of the Rights of Man, to ſhow that all the calamities which France was ſuffering were to be attributed to the principles of it having been forgotten or deſtroyed; 2dly, that *Louis* XVI. ſhould be adjudged to have forfeited the Crown; that, conſidering the ſerious ſtate of things, the Primary Aſſemblies ſhould be immediately convoked, to confirm the depoſition, and fix the number of Repreſentatives competent to form a National Convention; and that all citizens whatever, beggars and vagabonds excepted, ſhould be entitled to vote at thoſe Aſſemblies; 3dly, that all the Directories of Departments be ſuperſeded, all Staffs in the armies be reduced, and no Noble be ſuffered to be Commander in Chief; 4thly, that the patriot Miniſters ſhould be immediately recalled, and inveſted *pro tempore* with the functions of the Executive Power; 5thly, that a decree of impeachment be immediately paſſed againſt M. *de la Fayette, with a declaration that his letter to the Aſſembly, and his appearance at their Bar, were deemed ſufficient proofs of his crimes againſt the ſovereignty of the nation, to juſtify the ſentence and execution*

execution of that traitor directly on his being arreſted, &c. The Aſſembly, inſtead of committing theſe brigands to priſon, or a houſe of correction, granted them the honours of the Sitting!

Although there was perhaps more cowardice than treachery in this conduct, it did not leſs clearly ſhow that the King, in the dangers that awaited him, could expect no aſſiſtance from the Aſſembly. The Department, unpopular and diſorganized by the reſignation of all the Members of the Directory, was without power; the Commune and Sections, who alone might have been able to reſtrain the populace and brigands, had joined them in demanding the depoſition of the King; of the forty-eight battalions of the National guard, there were not more than three or four well inclined; and the artillery were all, without exception, furious Revolutioniſts. There remained, then, for protecting the Royal Family againſt all thoſe rebels, only 300 Swiſs guards, about as many more National guards or ſoldiers of the diſbanded Conſtitutional guard who had continued in Paris, and the faithful Royaliſts, who, without a leader, without a rallying

lying point, and without any arms but their ſwords, always flew to the Palace at every moment of danger. Alas! the number of theſe good and loyal ſervants was ſo much reduced by emigration, that their zeal could be but of very little uſe.

Meanwhile the reports I received from time to time, in the courſe of a day, from *Buob* the Juſtice, on the ſtate of the Capital, and on the manœuvres of the Jacobins, became more and more alarming. The day, the hour, the final arrangement of the general inſurrection were fixed. The King was exactly informed of it, and ſtill flattered himſelf that he ſhould be able to retard it, or moderate its conſequences. A negociation for this purpoſe had been opened with *Briſſot*, and on the 9th of Auguſt the King's agents were ſtill haggling with that villain, who aſked no leſs than twelve millions in ſpecie, or foreign bills of exchange, to prevent the execution of the plot. He required alſo to be furniſhed with a paſſport to ſecure his flight out of the kingdom. This bargain would perhaps have been concluded, had the twelve millions demanded been in the cheſt of the Civil Liſt; and it is more than

than probable, that after *Briſſot* had carried the greater part of it out of the kingdom, the projected inſurrection would have taken place a few days later.

The Court treated likewiſe with *Santerre*, who promiſed, for a ſum of ſeven or eight hundred thouſand livres, to uſe his credit, and every means in his power, to prevent the Palace from being attacked, and to inſure the King and Royal Family from all manner of violence and inſult whatſoever. Unfortunately, he did not take ſufficient care to conceal from the vigilance of the Secret Committee of the Jacobins the ſteps he took to fulfil his engagement; and that Committee, on being informed of them by their ſpies, determined to have *Santerre* arreſted. Of this I was immediately informed by a note from *Buob*, which I inſtantly diſpatched to the King, congratulating him on being delivered by the Jacobins themſelves from the moſt dangerous conſpirator. I was at the time entirely ignorant of the arrangement that had been made with *Santerre*, and did not know it for a long time after; but I ſince learned, that the firſt idea that ſtruck the Queen on her reading *Buob*'s note was, that *Santerre* might imagine that the

the agreement entered into with him, the price of which had been in part paid down, was only a ſnare laid for him, and that her Majeſty, in conſequence, notwithſtanding all the remonſtrances that were made to her, inſiſted on notice being immediately given to *Santerre* of the reſolution taken againſt him by the Committee of the Jacobins, that he might keep himſelf upon his guard. *We muſt not*, ſaid ſhe, *be thought capable of uſing treachery even againſt our enemies, whatever might be the advantage derived from it**. The noble and generous candour of this conduct made no impreſſion on the ſavage ſoul of *Santerre*; he took advantage of the notice given him to provide for his own ſafety, forgot the engagement he had entered into with their Majeſties, and ſhowed himſelf a more violent Revolutioniſt than ever.

The Members of the Aſſembly who had voted againſt the decree of impeachment in the affair of M. *de la Fayette*, and particu-

* The Baron *de Gilliers*, who was honoured with the confidence of Madame *Elizabeth*, was informed by her of all theſe particulars, and from him I received the knowledge of them.

larly

larly thoſe who had ſpoken in his favour, ſoon felt the effects of the people's diſapprobation. On going out of the Hall, they were almoſt every one inſulted, beaten, and dragged through the dirt. Several of them who had fled for ſhelter to the Guard Houſe at the Palais-Royal, were purſued thither by a large mob of brigands and federates, and to eſcape their fury, were obliged to jump out of a back window at the moment that the guard were forced to open the door of the houſe.

The Sitting of the next day, Auguſt 9, was almoſt entirely occupied with the reading of letters from the Deputies, who had been ſo violently attacked, to the Legiſlative Body, giving an account of the ſhocking treatment they had received, and declaring, that if effectual meaſures were not taken to protect liberty of opinion within their walls, and the perſonal ſafety and inviolability of their Members out of doors, they would withdraw from their functions, and inform their Conſtituents of the reaſons of their conduct. "The city of Paris," ſaid one of them, (*La Cretelle,*) "will meet with "the fate of Avignon, if the Mayor and

" Municipality do nothing but authoriſe " mobs." Another Deputy (*Jolivet*) ſaid, " that he had been in one of the galleries " of the Jacobin Club, where he had heard " the majority of the Aſſembly devoted to " public execration, for having acquitted " M. *de la Fayette*; had ſeen it reſolved " that a Liſt of the Deputies ſold to the " Court, and who voted in favour of that " General, ſhould be publiſhed, and ſtuck " up about the town; and had heard a " Member of the Club boaſt of the zeal " with which he had chaſed and inſulted " all the Deputies, whoſe places of reſidence " it had been propoſed to mention on the " liſt to be printed; a propoſal which for- " tunately a cry of horror, proceeding from " the galleries, cauſed to be rejected."

The Commander of the National guard had alſo been inſulted and attacked with ſwords on quitting his poſt.

The reports of the Deputies were confirmed by a letter from the Miniſter of Juſtice, lamenting, that though he had written eight letters to the Aſſembly, to entreat them to paſs a law for reſtraining thoſe who excited the multitude to the commiſſion of crimes

crimes, none had yet been enacted. "I "have denounced," ſaid he, "all thoſe "offences to the Criminal Court, by the "expreſs order of the King, but the laws "are without power; the evil is at its "height. In theſe circumſtances, honour "and duty call upon me to declare to you, "that without the immediate ſupport of the "Legiſlative Body, the Government can "no longer be reſponſible."

One of the boldeſt of M. *de la Fayette*'s defenders (M. *de Vaublanc)* having, by a moſt fortunate accident, eſcaped the aſſaſſins, twelve of whom had been looking for him at his own and the neighbouring houſes, came himſelf to make his complaint to the Aſſembly, with an intrepidity which compelled all parties to admire and applaud him. "I too," ſaid he, "have been inſulted, threa- "tened, and ſhould probably have been aſ- "ſaſſinated, but for the notice I received that "a body of armed men, in the uniform of "the National guards, inveſted my houſe, "and were crying out that eighty citizens "were to die by their hands, and that I "was to be the firſt. No doubt, inſults, "threats, and ill treatment, are excellent "means preparatory to the diſcuſſion of the

" King's depoſition*; but they ſhall no " more avail to render us perjured a few " days hence, than they availed to render " us unjuſt yeſterday." He moved that the Federates ſhould be immediately ſent to Soiſſons, and that the *Procureur-Syndic* of the Department ſhould be ordered, on his reſponſibility, to take the moſt rigorous meaſures for ſecuring the tranquillity of Paris, and enabling the Members of the Aſſembly to vote freely, or to remove their Sittings to ſome other place. As he concluded his motion, the *Procureur-Syndic* of the Department appeared at the Bar, and gave the moſt alarming account of the diſpoſition of the people, and of the ſtate of the Capital. The Section of the *Quinze-vingts* had entered into a Reſolution, declaring, *that if the Legiſlative Body did not, in the Sitting of Thurſday, Auguſt 9, decree the depoſition of the King, the alarm bell ſhould be rung, and the drums beat at twelve o'clock at*

* It was reported to the Commiſſion of the Twelve, that the Mayor had declared, that on Sunday, the 5th of Auguſt, he had had the greateſt difficulty in the world to reſtrain the Fauxbourgs; but that if the King's depoſition was not decreed, it was all over with the Aſſembly.

night,

night, that the people might all riſe, and go to the Palace of the Thuilleries. This Reſolution was addreſſed to the 47 other Sections, and was diſapproved of only by one. Nine hundred armed men were to come to Paris in the evening, and the Municipality had ordered quarters to be got ready for them. The Commander General of the National guard being called before the Directory of the Department, had given diſheartening information. The *Procureur-Syndic* here ſtated, that according to the Conſtitution, the functions of the Department, as to Police, were confined to a ſimple ſuperintendence. "It does not "belong to us," ſaid he, "to exerciſe the "immediate police. We ſhould not only "tranſgreſs the law, but we ſhould dimi-"niſh the reſponſibility of the Municipal "Officers, and run a riſk of counteracting "their meaſures: but this I aſſure the Aſ-"ſembly, that we are all devoted to the "public weal, and that I will hazard my "life to oppoſe every enterpriſe not autho-"rized by your decrees."

Petion alſo preſented himſelf at the Bar, and aſſerted the eagerneſs of the Municipality to fly to every place where the public

tranquillity was threatened. He ſaid, that in the moſt ſtormy moments they had always ſucceſsfully employed the means of reaſon, confidence, and perſuaſion; and that on the preſent occaſion thoſe means were the only ones they had to uſe, for the public force, as well as the Aſſemblies of the Section, being compoſed of all the active citizens, was become deliberating bodies by the permanence of thoſe Aſſemblies authorized by the Legiſlative Body; and that this public force being, like all other citizens, divided in opinion, to call upon them was to arm the citizens againſt one another. "It is "very eaſy for the Department," added he, "to tell us to take meaſures, when they "are themſelves embarraſſed; and it is ſtill "eaſier, when the events are paſt, to find "fault with the meaſures purſued. It is "particularly the Mayor that is uſually "made reſponſible for events; but I ſhall "be able to bear the weight of the reſponſibility laid upon me by the law, and I can "ſay that the Municipality will inſtantly "adopt any good meaſure that ſhall be "pointed out to them."

Nobody could be better acquainted with the propereſt means for reſtoring order and tranquil-

tranquillity in the Capital, than *Petion*. Had his intentions been purer, and more truly patriotic, he would himſelf have pointed them out; he would have made them popular by propoſing them, and the Aſſembly would not have dared to reject them: thoſe means were nothing more than to ſend off the Federates and Marſeillois to the camp at Soiſſons, or the frontiers. A motion had been made to that effect, ſupported by all the Members of the *Coté-droit*, but it had been oppoſed by all thoſe of the *Coté-gauche*, and principally by the Girondiſts, on the grounds of its being neceſſary, firſt, to aſcertain whether preparations had been made at Soiſſons, or the adjoining cantonments, for receiving the Federates; and the Aſſembly ſhamefully concurred with the oppoſers of the motion, without taking any ſtep to prevent the fatal conſequences which would be the reſult, and which they could not be ignorant of. Was it not, in fact, clear, that thouſands of furious brigands, arming and collecting mobs to exerciſe the ſovereignty of the people, that is, the right of committing every manner of crime with impunity, would ſignalize their inſurrection by the moſt horrible violence on the bleeding

wrecks of the Throne and of the Church? But the Aſſembly, as inſenſible to the dangers of the Conſtitution, as to the King's, thought only of thoſe to which they might expoſe themſelves, by incurring the diſpleaſure of the brigands.

Meanwhile the moment of the general exploſion was drawing near. The workmen of the Fauxbourgs, the Federates, the Marſeillois, their arms, their artillery, all were ready, and there remained only the concerted ſignal for the breaking out of the inſurrection. The perſons attached to the King, and all the worthy part of the inhabitants yet remaining in Paris, were in a dreadful ſtate of alarm and anxiety. Confined at home by the extreme pain I felt in walking, and by the impoſſibility of bearing the motion of a carriage, I did not go this day to the Palace, but I was minutely informed by M. *de Mar**** of what paſſed there, and of the ſteps that had been taken to ſecure it from the irruption of the brigands. The Commander of the National guard, (*Mandat*), his Staff, and the greater part of the ſoldiers, manifeſted the beſt inclinations. The intrepid fidelity of the Swiſs guards was proof againſt every thing. Sixteen picked battalions

battalions of the National guards received orders from M. *Mandat* to hold themſelves ready to march, and by ſix o'clock in the evening all the poſts of the Palace were trebled. Almoſt all the officers of the diſbanded Conſtitutional guard had aſſembled in the *Œil de Beuf*, as well as a great number of Gentlemen and Royaliſts of every claſs, armed with ſwords and piſtols. All animated with the ſame ſentiments and feelings towards the Royal Family, they conſidered themſelves as brothers, and promiſed one another to ſhed the laſt drop of their blood to ſave their good King. *Petion*, in his laſt viſit to the Palace, had given an order in writing to the Commander of the National guard to repel force by force; and M. *Mandat* had given a duplicate of that order to the Commander of the Swiſs guards, ſo that it could no longer be doubted, that if the Palace were attacked, it would be defended; and notwithſtanding the immenſe diſproportion that there muſt be between the number of the aſſailants, and that of the Defenders of the King, the baſeneſs of the former, and the valour of the latter, with the juſtice of their cauſe, ſtill ſuſtained the confidence of the Royaliſts.

The

The fatal hour at length arrived. At midnight the alarm bell was rung, the drums beat to arms, and the National guard haſtened from every part of the town to join their battalions. In this moment of confuſion, the factious collected a few of their truſty citizens of each of the Sections, in their uſual places of aſſembling, where they unanimouſly voted that all the Members of the Municipality and of the Commune, *Petion*, *Manuel*, and *Danton* only excepted, ſhould be diſmiſſed; and they haſtily cloſed their Sittings, or rather their petty riots, by electing 192 Commiſſioners from among the Members of theſe groups to compoſe the new Council-General of the Commune*. No ſooner was this act of darkneſs and rebellion conſummated, than 300 of the factious went and beſet the *Hotel-de-Ville*, gave notice to the Municipal Officers of the pretended election of the Sections, drove out the Members of the Commune and Municipality, and inſtalled

* The whole number of Members preſent at theſe forty-eight meetings, did not amount to 600: at the Section of the Lombards there were but eight perſons, who appointed five of thoſe Commiſſioners.

the

the new Repreſentatives of the people. Theſe men immediately conſtituted themſelves into a deliberative Aſſembly, and chooſing one of the vileſt agents of the Revolution, named *Huguenin**, for their Preſident, they thought of nothing but how to ſecond the plots of their real Conſtituents, the Jacobins. Theſe pretended *friends of the Conſtitution* were not ignorant that it would be annihilated by ſo violent an outrage, and its conſequences; but the firſt conſideration was to enſure ſucceſs to the attack to be made upon the Palace; and a Municipality, compoſed of villains ready to enter into this execrable conſpiracy, was more to their purpoſe than a Conſtitutional Municipality of approved patriotiſm. The Revolutionary Commune began the uſe of the powers of which they had made themſelves maſters, by organizing and more effectually aiding the inſurrection. At the

* This *Huguenin* had been a deſerter, then a ſearcher at the Barriers, and was at this time a pander at brothels. *Tallien*, the Editor of an inflammatory paper which was daily ſtuck up about the town at the expence of the Jacobins, under the title of *Ami des Citoyens*, was appointed Secretary to this Revolutionary Commune, and by his crimes juſtified the choice of thoſe villains.

increaſing

increaſing ſounds of the alarm bell, the different bands of Federates, workmen, Marſeillois, and other rebels, ſet out to aſſemble at the four points fixed for their meeting in the Fauxbourgs of St. Antoine and St. Marceau.

CHAP-

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Criſis of the 10th of Auguſt.

THE meaſures taken for the defence of the Palace, and the loyalty of the battalions who were to defend it *, particularly of the Commandant, (*Mandat*), induced the conſpirators to give up their original plan of making the attack in the night, as too hazardous. It appeared to them more prudent to give the new Commune time to ſecure

* From this eulogy, however, we muſt except the Artillery, who had all ſhown that they were devoted to the factious, by inſulting expreſſions and threats directed againſt the Gentlemen whom they ſaw coming into the Palace, and againſt ſeveral officers of the National guard.

to

by their operations the ſucceſs of their enterpriſe: the attack was therefore poſtponed for ſome hours, and the rebels, curbing their impetuoſity at the direction of their leaders, became ſo dilatory in their motions, that it was thought the factious had relinquiſhed their plan.

The detachments of the National guard required by the Commandant, amounting to about 2,400 men, arrived at the Thuilleries in the night. They brought with them eleven pieces of cannon, three of which were placed in the Royal Court facing the gate, two in the Court of the Princes, one in the Court of the Swiſs, one in the Court *de Marſan*, one at the door of the Riding-houſe, one at the *Pont-Royal*, and two at the *Pont-Tournant*. The Swiſs were ſtationed with their colours in the Guard-houſe at the bottom of the great ſtaircaſe, leading to the Court of the Princes, and they were joined by ſome of the National guards.

Two Municipal Officers (*Borie* and *Le Roulx*) paſſed the night at the Palace. *Petion* alſo was there; he had come at twelve o'clock, and was much embarraſſed with the part he had to play, and with the determinations he had to make on the different directions

directions for which he was aſked. To avoid as much as he could being importuned with theſe applications, he was perpetually moving from place to place through the apartments, the Courts, and the garden, ſo that there was no knowing where to find him. He held long conferences with the *Procureur-Syndic* of the Department, who had alſo gone to the Thuilleries. At length, ſome grenadiers of the National guard, either to prevent his leaving the Palace, or that ſo much time might not be loſt in ſeeking him when he was wanted for orders, ſucceeded in fixing him at the foot of the Terrace ſtaircaſe, by ſurrounding him. There he remained near an hour, ſeated on a ſtep with another Municipal Officer, (*Serjent*). Among thoſe who came to give him an account of what was paſſing, there was one of his confidential agents, to whom, by broken ſentences and geſtures, he made known his wiſh to be delivered from this kind of private impriſonment, at which he was obliged to wink. This perſon went immediately to the Bar of the Aſſembly, accompanied by friends, and denounced that the Mayor was confined at the Thuilleries by National guards, who pretended to keep

keep him as a hoſtage for the ſecurity of the Palace againſt the attempts of the people. The Members of the Aſſembly, who, awakened by the alarm bell and the drums, had one after another, from one o'clock in the morning*, been collecting in the Hall, finding that there was a ſufficient number of them to proceed to buſineſs, decreed that the Mayor ſhould be called to the Bar, to give an account of the ſtate of the Capital, and of the meaſures he had taken for preſerving the public peace. This decree was inſtantly carried to the Palace, and the grenadiers did not dare to prevent the execution of it. *Petion*, very eager to ſubmit to it, appeared at the Bar, and informed the Legiſlative Body of all the means he had uſed to diſperſe the crowds that had begun to gather in the Fauxbourgs, and to prevent the alarm bell from being rung. The Aſſembly, ſatisfied with his conduct, granted him the honours of the Sitting, and then diſmiſſed him to exerciſe his functions; but he, inſtead of returning to the Palace, whither thoſe loudly directed him, went out by the

* At the time *Petion*'s agent denounced his ſituation, it was half after two o'clock.

Court

Court of the Feuillans, and repaired to the *Hotel-de-Ville*, where he was put under a guard of 300 men, who, on pretence of attending to his ſafety, ſuffered nobody either to ſpeak to him or to ſee him the whole day, and conſequently made it impoſſible for him to give any order.

It was not enough that the *Commune* had thus rendered *Petion* of no uſe, it was neceſſary for them to get rid of the order which he had given in writing to repel force by force. This order was in the hands of the Commandant, *Mandat*, who had given duplicates of it to the ſuperior officers. A meſſage was diſpatched to him enjoining him to appear immediately before the Municipality to give an account of his conduct. He anſwered at firſt that circumſtances were in too critical a ſituation to allow him to leave his poſt for a ſingle inſtant. He was immediately ſent for again in terms ſtill more preſſing. The *Procureur-Syndic* of the Department, and the two Municipal officers who were at the Thuilleries, ignorant perhaps of the new formation of the *Commune*, repreſented to *Mandat*, that as he was called upon by the Civil Power, under the immediate authority of which the Con-

ſtitution had placed him, no reaſon whatever could excuſe him from going to receive their orders. The unfortunate *Mandat* ſeemed to forebode the fate that awaited him; he ſhuddered, took leave of the friends about him, and, accompanied only by an Aid-de-camp, went to the *Hotel-de-Ville*, where, on being brought before the new Municipal officers, he wondered at not ſeeing among them a ſingle face that was known to him. He was queſtioned as to the orders he had given, and the meaſures he had taken to diſperſe without bloodſhed the bodies that were collecting. He was accuſed of a deſign of firing upon the people. *Mandat*, ſtupified with all he ſaw and heard, heſitated and faltered. The Municipality ordered him to be carried to the *Abbaye*; but he had hardly reached the ſteps of the *Hotel-de-Ville*, when he was known and maſſacred. He was the firſt victim of the 10th of Auguſt; and, after the order which he had received from *Petion* was taken out of his pocket, his body was thrown into the Seine. The chief command of the National Guard was immediately given proviſionally to *Santerre*, who on this occaſion had redoubled his audacity and atrocity, in order to recover the confi-

dence

dence of the Jacobins, and had ſucceeded in diſſipating their ſuſpicions. The New Commune then proceeded to appoint another Staff for the National Guard, on the pretence of ſeeing that it was pure, and of aſſociating with *Santerre* officers as patriotic as himſelf. The King ſpent a ſleepleſs night, ſometimes in his own room, ſometimes in the Council-Chamber, where the Miniſters were aſſembled, and were conſtantly receiving freſh intelligence of what was paſſing out of doors, which they communicated to his Majeſty, conſulting at the ſame time with the *Procureur-Syndic* of the Department on the means of ſaving the Royal Family. At other moments the King retired with his Confeſſor, the Abbé *Hebert*, and ſupplicated Heaven for the courage and reſignation he ſtood in need of, and he found both in the ſuggeſtions of a pure conſcience, and in the ſublimeſt ſentiments of religion. The Queen, who was as unconcerned for her own danger, as alive and anxious reſpecting all that might affect the King, frequently went to his room and to her children's, accompanied by Madame *Elizabeth*, and then returned to the Council-chamber, where the preſence of mind, the greatneſs, and the

intrepidity ſhe diſplayed, even in the ſlighteſt things ſhe ſaid, excited both the aſtoniſhment and admiration of the Miniſters, and of the *Procureur-Syndic* of the Department. The divine countenance of Madame *Elizabeth* expreſſed her ſiſterly tenderneſs, her grief, her piety, and all the virtues of her angelic ſoul. Her looks were often raiſed to Heaven in prayer for the ſafety of the King; and they doubly animated the enthuſiaſm and fidelity of all thoſe around her on whom ſhe happened to fix them.

At five in the morning the Queen ordered her children to be awakened and brought to her, to accompany the King in viſiting the poſts within the Palace, that the ſight of all the Royal Family together might ſupport the ſpirits of the noble fellows who were to defend them. This ſtep, with the marks of confidence and affection which their Majeſties beſtowed on the National Guard, produced a very good effect: the ſoldiers were highly charmed, and expreſſed the beſt intentions. At ſix o'clock the King went down to the Courts, attended by three or four General officers; and the moment he appeared all was in motion, the ſhout of *Vive*

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le Roi! was given by the firſt who ſaw him; it was taken up by the National Guards, and, reſounding through the Palace, inſpired hope and joy: but the Artillery and the battalion of the *Croix-rouge* anſwered it with the ſhout of *Vive la Nation!*

The King was in the Courts when two other battalions, ſtill worſe diſpoſed than that of the *Croix-rouge*, came in. There were men armed with pikes mixed in their ranks, and they as well as the Artillery ſhouted *Vive la Nation! Vive Petion!* They were marched into the garden, and ſtationed on the Terrace oppoſite that of the Feuillans. That which was before the Palace was occupied by the battalions moſt to be depended upon, and particularly by thoſe of the *Filles St. Thomas* and of the *Petits Peres:* there the King was received with the moſt affecting demonſtrations of attachment. The grenadiers drew cloſe about him, and at their ſolicitation his Majeſty went to review the reſerve, who were poſted at the *Pont-tournant*. It was not without danger that he croſſed the garden: the villains with pikes, who had joined the two diſaffected battalions juſt come, might have had the moſt wicked deſigns, but they

contented themſelves with crying as loud as they could, *Down with the Veto! Down with the traitor!* When the King had returned to the Palace, theſe two battalions marched out of the garden through the gate facing the *Pont-Royal*, took their cannon with them, and drew themſelves up along the railing to wait for the rebels, and to join them. The ſame thing was done, and almoſt at the ſame moment, in the Royal Court by the two other battalions juſt arrived: they ſeparated, and a great number of the ſoldiers belonging to them went off with two cannon and fixed themſelves in the ſquare of the *Carouſel*, where they ſtopped the freſh battalions coming to reinforce the guard of the Palace, thus commencing hoſtilities againſt it. The pretext for this defection was, that the Swiſs had determined to fire upon the people in caſe of an attack, and that the Palace was full of gentlemen, to whom they gave the odious appellation of *Chevaliers of the dagger*.

The army of the rebels began to march at ſix o'clock in the morning. Every account that was brought confirmed their approach. There were about 15,000 men in the body, which had formed in the Faux-

bourg

bourg St. Antoine. They were armed with pikes or muſkets taken from the Arſenal, which had been forced. The body from the Fauxbourg St. Marcel was much fewer in number; but both were more than doubled by the brigands, who were conſtantly joining them, and by the crowd of men and women, old and young, led by curioſity to follow them.

The King ſent the Miniſter of Juſtice to inform the Aſſembly, that as the commotion in the Capital was becoming more and more alarming, his Majeſty wiſhed for his own ſecurity, and particularly for that of his family, that the Legiſlative Body would ſend a deputation as ſoon as poſſible to the Palace. The Aſſembly knew the alarming ſtate of the Capital as well as the King, but they thought it became their dignity to take no notice of it; and at the moſt terrible Revolutionary criſis that had yet happened, they were coolly ſpending the time in idle debates on the gradual abolition of the ſlave trade, when every moment ſhould have been marked with the moſt vigorous efforts of the Legiſlative Body to avert the horrid event that was about to annihilate the

Conſtitution, which they had ſworn to maintain as long as they lived.

While the Aſſembly were conſidering the King's meſſage, the gentlemen who had paſſed the night in the Palace, and the officers of the diſbanded Conſtitutional guard who had joined them, formed themſelves into two companies, under the command of Mareſchal *de Mailly*. One of theſe companies, commanded by M. *de Puyſegur*, a Lieutenant General, and M. *de Pont-L'Abbé*, a Field Mareſchal, was placed in the King's anti-chamber, the *Oeil-de-Beuf*; the other, commanded by the Baron *de Viomenil*, a Lieutenant General, and M. *D'Hervilly*, formerly Commander of the Conſtitutional Guard, was ſtationed in the great gallery that led to the Dauphin's apartments. Theſe brave and faithful Royaliſts, having no arms but their ſwords, were too few in number to make an effectual reſiſtance againſt thouſands of brigands, but they were nevertheleſs reſolved to ſhed the very laſt drop of their blood in defending the lives of the Royal Family, and in the enthuſiaſm of ſo generous a reſolution, they eſtimated their ſtrength by their valour, and thought

thought themſelves invincible. The formation of this noble phalanx, and the purity of the ſentiments with which they were animated, excited the admiration and love of all who ſaw them. Several National grenadiers, eager to partake their glory and their danger, joined in their ranks. For this the King and Queen expreſſed their ſatisfaction to them in ſuch warm terms, that all of them, greatly affected, charged their muſkets at once, as regularly as if the word of command had been given, and with a determined air, calculated to inſpire confidence. The ſame ſpirit pervaded all the National Guards at the poſts within the Palace; they conſidered the gentlemen who had volunteered their ſervice as their comrades, and they ſhook hands with one another, crying, *Vive la Garde Nationale!* but, unhappily, thoſe ſtationed at the poſts on the outſide were not of the ſame mind; jealous of the gentlemen who had aſſembled in the Palace, they wiſhed and requeſted that they ſhould be ſent away. This requeſt being brought to their Majeſties by the Commander of a legion (*Belair*), the Queen anſwered him in theſe words: "Nothing ſhall ſeparate us from thoſe gentlemen;

" men; they are our moſt faithful friends. " They will ſhare the dangers of the Na- " tional Guards; they will be under your " command: order them to the cannon's " mouth, and they will ſhow you how they " die for their King."

The rebels, openly protected and ſeconded by the new *Commune**, had no farther obſtacle to fear in their march: their formidable bodies advanced faſter towards the Palace and a little before eight o'clock the vanguard arrived at the *Place du Carouſel.* The *Procureur-Syndic* of the Department endeavoured in vain to convince theſe furies that ſo great a multitude could not have acceſs either to the King or the Aſſembly, and that they ought, according to the Conſtitution, to name twenty deputies to preſent their petition; they would hardly liſten to him. On his calling upon the troops to defend their poſt conformably to the law, and to repel force by force in caſe of attack, he was attended to only by a ſmall part of the National Guard; but the

* It was by their order that the ſtrong force which had been placed at the Pont-neuf to prevent a communication of the crowds aſſembled on the different ſides of the river was entirely removed.

Artillery,

Artillery, whom he only exhorted to be orderly, made him no other anſwer than that of unloading their guns before his eyes. The *Procureur-Syndic*, finding that no dependence was to be placed on the troops ſtationed to guard the Palace, and that they were much leſs diſpoſed to defend it than to join the aſſailants, went immediately at the head of the Directory, and deſired to ſpeak with their Majeſties in private. The King received them in his chamber, in preſence only of the Queen and the Miniſters. *Roederer* informed them, from certain intelligence which he had juſt received, that the danger was imminent and beyond all expreſſion; that the greater part of the National Guard was corrupted and would fire upon the Palace; that the King, the Queen, their children, and every body about them would certainly be killed, unleſs the King immediately went to the National Aſſembly. The Queen at firſt decidedly oppoſed this ſtep. "Would you be anſwerable then, "Madam," replied *Roederer*, "for the "death of the King, of your children, "and of all the faithful ſervants waiting "here to defend you?"—"Oh!" cried their

their Majeſties with one accord, "*May we "be the only victims!*"

The *Procureur-Syndic*'s remark inſtantly conquered all objections, all repugnance, and the King determined to follow his advice. As he was ſetting out for the Aſſembly, his Majeſty addreſſed the Miniſters and other perſons around him with this expreſſion: *Come, gentlemen, there is nothing more to be done here.* I am particular in ſtating theſe words, becauſe they ſhow the injuſtice of thoſe who have dared to reproach the King with having thought only of his own ſafety, and with leaving orders to defend the Palace to the laſt extremity if it was attacked, and of courſe to fire upon the people. Is it not abſurd to ſuppoſe that the King, who had been induced to go to the Aſſembly only by the reflection of the dangers to which they who had come to defend him would be expoſed if he remained in the Palace, was capable of deſiring they ſhould be expoſed to the ſame danger for the preſervation of his furniture? His Majeſty imagining that the Palace would not be attacked after he left it, did not think it was neceſſary to give poſitive orders for the Swiſs

Swiſs to quit it, but the words *there is nothing more to be done here* very clearly implied, that his Majeſty's intention was, that there ſhould be no reſiſtance in caſe of an attack.

The Royal Family croſſed the garden of the Thuilleries between two columns formed by the Swiſs grenadiers and thoſe of the battalions of the *Petits Peres* and of the *Filles St. Thomas;* but they were ſtopped on the terrace of the Feuillans by the immenſe populace collected there, who were brutal enough to ſhock his Majeſty's ears with loud inſults and horrible threats. It was a quarter of an hour before the Directory of the Department could prevail on the mob to make way for the Royal Family to go to the Aſſembly, and then it was on condition that they ſhould leave the guard who eſcorted them at the door. At that inſtant, a man of a moſt hideous countenance, who was ſeen at the head of all the inſurrections, ſtepped out of the crowd, and yielding to the irreſiſtible charm beaming from the intereſting countenance and manners of the Dauphin, whom the Queen held by the hand, took him up, ſaying brutally to her Majeſty, "Don't be afraid, I don't mean to hurt him;"

" him;" and carried him in his arms into the Hall of the Aſſembly, where he put him down on the table, and then returned to his ſtation on the Terrace.

The Aſſembly were ſtill deliberating on ſending a Deputation to the Palace, when one of the Municipal officers, who had been there all night, and had accompanied their Majeſties, came to announce that the King and Queen, with their family, the Miniſters, and the Directory of the Department, deſired to come in. The Aſſembly once more ſent the Deputation of Ceremony to meet the King, and this was the laſt reſpect paid to Royalty.

Their Majeſties entered, accompanied by the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs (*Bigot de St. Croix*), and the Miniſter of the Marine (*Dubouchage*), and going firſt to the ſeats appropriated to the Miniſters, the King addreſſed the Aſſembly in theſe few words: " I come here to avert a great crime, and I " think, Gentlemen, that I can no where " be ſafer than among you."

Guadet, who at the time filled the Preſident's chair, anſwered: " Sire, you may " depend upon the firmneſs of the National " Aſſembly, whoſe Members have ſworn

" to

" to die to maintain the rights of the peo-
" ple and the Conſtituted Authorities."
The King then went to take his ſeat by the Preſident; but an obſervation being made that, according to the Conſtitution, the Legiſlative Body could enter on no deliberation in preſence of his Majeſty, the Aſſembly decided that the King and Royal Family ſhould go into a private box, ſituated behind the Preſident's chair, whither their Majeſties retired*.

The framers of the Conſtitution did not foreſee that it would one day reduce the King, driven from his Palace by the populace, to the dreadful neceſſity of flying to the Hall of the National Aſſembly for an aſylum againſt aſſaſſins. Had they conceived that ſuch would be the conſequence of their raſh ignorance, they would doubtleſs have aſſigned for *the Hereditary Repreſentative of the Nation* and his family a more convenient place than the wretched little box of newſpaper reporters; and, far from prohibiting the Legiſlative Body from

* This box was the one occupied by the agents of the editor of a newſpaper, called *The Logographe*, and was but ten feet ſquare and ſix feet high.

deliberating

deliberating in the King's preſence, they would have ſtrictly bound them not to enter without him on deliberations, all of which ſhould tend to the ſafety of his Majeſty's perſon, and the maintenance of the Conſtitution. They would have been ſenſible that that could not have been ſaved in ſo violent a criſis but by the moſt perfect harmony between the two Conſtitutional Powers, and the union of all their efforts, and would have preſcribed it as an obligation*.

When their Majeſties were placed in the box of the *Logographe*, the Directory of the Department were introduced at the Bar, where the *Procureur-Syndic* gave an account of the ſtate of the Capital, and of the inutility of the meaſures which he and his colleagues had taken for reſtoring order and peace. He was concluding his report, when intelligence was brought that the Palace had been forced, and that the rebels meant to batter it down with their cannon.

* Why am I forced by truth to ſay, that this obligation would have been ill diſcharged by the majority of the Legiſlative Body? Almoſt all the Members of that majority were alſo the majority of the Convention, where they proved but too clearly that the King would have found among them fewer defenders than aſſaſſins.

The

The Commander of the guard who had remained in it appeared at the Bar to aſk what ſteps he was to take. The Aſſembly, who had been ſo often heard ſhouting *the Conſtitution or death*, while that exclamation was nothing more than a vain and ridiculous rhodomontade, took great care not to repeat it on this occaſion; and inſtead of vigorous meaſures, which the ſafety of the State required, they only declared that they placed property and perſons under the ſafeguard of the people of Paris, and appointed fifteen Deputies to go and carry this decree*.

Scarcely were theſe Deputies named when the firing of cannon was heard, and ſpread conſternation throughout the Aſſembly. As they did not know from which party it came, there might be ſome apprehenſion of the

* To whom was this decree to be carried? Was it to the people compoſed of the brigands, who at that time were cutting the throats of men, and injuring and burning property, or to the honeſt and peaceable citizens, who had ſhut themſelves up at home through horror at the crimes they were committing? The former would have replied to it by the cannon mouth, the latter by regretting their inability. With better intentions and leſs cowardice the Aſſembly, true to the oath of defying death for the maintenance of the Conſtitution,

the cannonade being directed againſt the Hall, and the fear of it was painted on the diſcompoſed countenances of moſt of the Deputies. The Preſident endeavoured in vain to compoſe them by putting them in mind that they were at their poſt, where very few of them would have remained had there been leſs danger in deſerting it. An account was ſoon brought that the Swiſs were engaging, on which ſeveral Members demanded that they ſhould be forbidden to fire. An order to that effect was given in writing by the King, and he ſigned another forbidding the Swiſs, who were at Courbevoye to advance towards Paris. Another diſcharge of cannon, followed by a rolling fire of ſmall arms, now ſhook the Hall and augmented the terror of the Aſſembly and galleries. The Deputies ſent to the people

tion, would not have heſitated to ſend a hundred of their Members, under a ſufficient eſcort, to the *Hotel-de-Ville* to diſſolve and arreſt the New Commune, annul all their acts, reinſtate the former Municipality, proclaim martial law, and cauſe the forty-eight battalions of the National Guard to march againſt the rebels. This ſtep would not have been without danger, but it was evidently the only one that could ſcreen the Aſſembly from cenſure, and the vigour of it might have enſured its ſucceſs.

with

with the decree that put perſons and property under their protection, returning at the ſame moment, declared that they had been diſperſed by the crowd in the Court of the Riding-houſe, and finding it impoſſible to diſcharge their commiſſion, had thought it their duty to return to their poſt. As they were finiſhing their account, a great number of the National Guards were ſeen forcing themſelves in at one of the doors of the Hall. Several Deputies flew to meet them, and repreſented to them that nobody was permitted to enter armed into the place where the Legiſlative Body held their Sittings. The reſt of the Members roſe in a tumultuous manner, and hurried to the oppoſite door. The moſt violent agitation pervaded the Aſſembly. The Preſident put on his hat; the Deputies all cried *Vive la Nation*, and the National Guards agreed to withdraw. But as the crowd about the Hall was increaſing every moment, and as the box in which the Royal Family were might be broken into, the iron grating that ſeparated it from the Aſſembly was removed.

The two companies of the Swiſs Guards, the 300 men of the beſt battalion of the National Guard, who had eſcorted the

Royal Family to the Aſſembly, and the gentlemen whoſe attachment had carried them after their Majeſties, did not return to the Palace, by which the guard of it was weakened, and in ſome ſort diſorganiſed, and the zeal of moſt of thoſe who compoſed it was alſo cooled by the King's unexpected departure. I do not in that number include thoſe Royaliſts diſtinct from the National Guards, and who had remained with them to wait the King's return, not to defend the Palace, for nobody imagined it would be attacked in his Majeſty's abſence. The armies of the Fauxbourgs ſoon filled the Square of the *Carouſel*, where they drew up in order of battle; nor had their motions at firſt that violent precipitation which uſually foreruns the great outrages of an inſurrection. The moſt blood-thirſty villains had got together in the Court of the Feuillans, to do juſtice in their way to twenty-two perſons, whom the patrols had arreſted ſeparately during the night in the environs of the Thuilleries, and who, on hearing the alarm-bell and drums, had come out, ſome through fear, others through curioſity, armed with ſwords and piſtols for their own defence. They had been carried to the Section

tion of the Feuillans; and it was reported among the people that they were a falſe patrol who had been arreſted. Eleven of them, who had been ſhut up in a ſeparate room, made their eſcape at day-break by jumping out of the windows. At ſeven o'clock in the morning the mob collected in the Court of the Feuillans were calling out for the falſe patrol. A Municipal officer got up on a treſſel to harangue them, and to perſuade them to withdraw, by promiſing that the guilty ſhould be delivered up to the rigour of the laws. He was anſwered by dreadful halloos, accuſed of encouraging falſe patrols, and compelled to retire. A woman, or rather a monſter, took his place on the treſſel, and, more blood-thirſty than any of her hearers, exhorted them to perſiſt in the reſolution of maſſacring the priſoners. This woman, who had before diſtinguiſhed herſelf in the Revolution by ſeveral acts of ferocity, was the famous *Theroigne de Mericourt.* She was this day dreſſed in a riding habit of the national colours, and wore a ſword in a croſs-belt. She made the brigands about her name ſome Commiſſioners, at the head of whom ſhe went and informed the Committee of the Section that

the ſovereign people demanded that the priſoners ſhould be delivered up to them. The perſon then Preſident of that Committee was no other than *Bonjour*, the identical clerk whom I had diſmiſſed from the Navy Office, and who, although he had about 200 ſoldiers of the National Guard at his command, made no reſiſtance *againſt the will of the people.* The priſoners were therefore given up to them; and of the remaining eleven, only two had the good fortune to eſcape by mixing with the crowd. The other nine had their throats cut; their heads were ſevered from their bodies; the latter were expoſed in the Square *Vendome*, and the former all carried on pikes about the ſtreets in triumph.

At nine o'clock two carriages, loaded with powder and ball, being arrived in the Square of the *Carouſel*, the Commander of the rebel army knocked at the door of the Royal Court, and deſired it might be opened, which was refuſed. The different motions then obſerved among the rebels no longer left a doubt of their being reſolved to attack the Palace. Immediately on this, the gentlemen under the command of Mareſchal *de Mailly*, the National Guards and the

the Swiſs, who were in ſeparate rooms, aſſembled at the different poſts aſſigned them, and determined to repel force by force, in ſpite of the immenſe ſuperiority in number of the aſſailants*.

By ten minutes after nine the gates of the Royal Court were beat down, and the people ruſhed in without meeting any reſiſtance. The leader of the Marſeillois entered firſt with a piſtol in his hand, and was followed by his troop, whom he drew up in two ſquares about the Court; after which, the artillery-men removed the ſix cannon from the two ſides, and pointed them on the Palace. The people, finding themſelves ſo powerfully ſupported, cried out, *Down with the Swiſs, down arms!* The National Guards and the Swiſs at the windows anſwered theſe cries, not by ſignals of friendſhip, as it has been ſaid, but by motions of their hands or hats, which only expreſſed a wiſh that the multitude would retire, and could mean nothing elſe.

The determined appearance of the Swiſs who were at the foot of the ſtaircaſe kept the aſſaſins from approaching it for nearly a

* They were more than fifty to one.

quarter of an hour, during which they did not dare to paſs the middle of the Court. At laſt, ſome brigands armed with long pikes that had hooks to them, advanced as far as the great door of the Palace, with an officer of the National Guard at their head. They hooked the firſt centinel that appeared at the door and drew him to them, and they did the ſame with four or five more one after the other, whom they inſtantly diſarmed, burſting out into a horſe laugh. Emboldened by this ſucceſs, the multitude puſhed forward in a crowd to the bottom of the great ſtaircaſe, and with clubs murdered the diſarmed centinels. Then it was that the Swiſs at this poſt, ſeeing their comrades maſſacred, determined to engage on the ſteps, and executed *for the firſt time* the order of repelling force by force. Their firſt fire killed and wounded ſeveral of the aſſaſſins, and the reſt fled precipitately. At the ſame inſtant, the officer of the National Guard, who had put himſelf at the head of the body of rebels that came into the Court, vexed no doubt at loſing time, fired a piſtol towards the Palace: this was returned by firing ſome guns from the windows, and immediately three cannon were

were diſcharged from the *Carouſel* with ſo much hurry, and ſo aukwardly, that the balls ſtruck the fartheſt end of the roof.

Theſe facts, the truth of which is indiſputable, leave no doubt of the injuſtice of the reproach caſt upon the Swiſs of having been the aggreſſors on this day. Had they fired on the rebels when the gates of the Royal Court were forced, they would only have repelled force by force; but at that time they made no uſe of their arms againſt their aſſailants, nor till rouſed to revenge the death of their maſſacred comrades. The firſt blood ſpilt was that of the Swiſs, ſo that far from conſidering them as aggreſſors, they might much more juſtly be blamed for having ſo long delayed to repel the aſſailants.

The firſt fire of the Swiſs not only put to flight the brigands who had ventured into the veſtibule of the Palace, it ſpread ſo much terror in the Courts, that they were evacuated, and appeared covered with grenadiers' caps, guns, and pikes of the flying rebels. The artillery men themſelves deſerted their cannon, and followed the crowd to the ſquare of the *Carouſel*. The Swiſs then went into the Courts, and taking poſ-

ſeſſion

ſeſſion of the deſerted cannon, placed them again before the great door of the Palace; after which ſixty of them formed a ſquare battalion at the gate of the Royal Court, where, ſeconded by the National guards and Swiſs, who fired from the windows of the gallery of the *Louvre* on the *Carouſel*, they kept up a rolling fire ſo well directed, that the army of the faction was very ſoon diſperſed, and nothing was to be ſeen in the ſquare but dead and wounded, and four cannon left behind by the flying rebels. Thoſe worthy patriots, pale, trembling, and covered with blood and duſt, were running off through every paſſage as faſt as their legs could carry them. The quays and bouvelards were choaked up by them. Two Federates of Breſt who had kept on their red uniform, galloping down the *Rue St. Honoré*, were taken for Swiſs, and maſſacred by the people. Another detachment of the Swiſs guards at the ſame time ſeized three cannon at the door of the Riding-houſe, and removed them to the iron gate of the Palace, leading to the terrace in the garden; but they could make no uſe of them, for want of ammunition and proper implements. This affair was extremely bloody

bloody on both ſides; the Swiſs loſt thirty men by it.

A new body of rebels being collected before the gate of the Princes' Court, and having fired a cannon loaded with canniſter ſhot, eighty Swiſs and ſome National guards marched to the place, where they began another fire, which killed a number of people, and entirely ſilenced the fire of the aſſailants. The Gentlemen who were waiting for the King's return to the Palace having no fire arms, had ſtaid in the apartments. When the firing began, they aſſembled in the hall of the Queen's guards, to conſider what they were to do, and half an hour paſſed before they determined on going to the King. They collected all the Swiſs, and ſome National guards who were in that part of the Palace, and to the number of about 500 perſons, proceeded to the garden, which they could not enter but by pulling down a ſmall iron gate, about thirty paces from the diſaffected battalions, who were at the gate leading to the Pont-Royal; and what rendered the outlet more dangerous was, that only one at a time could go through it. Two Swiſs ſoldiers, who were the firſt out, were ſhot, and the reſt of the

the party were forced to paſs over their bodies. There was a continued fire of muſquetry, from different points, kept up on them, and chiefly directed at the Swiſs, who were known by their regimentals. M. *de Clermont d'Amboiſe* and M. *de Caſteja* were the only gentlemen killed at this paſſage. The Baron *de Viomeſnil* was wounded in the thigh*. The National guards who were in this party when they left the Palace, quitted them to join their own battalions. The Swiſs and gentlemen, rallied by the Duke *de Choiſeul*, amid the fire of the cannon of the *Pont-Neuf* and *Pont-Tournant*, were received at the bottom of the ſteps leading to the Feuillans with ſo briſk a diſcharge of ſmall arms, that they found it impoſſible to get up to the terrace. The Duke *de Choiſeul* thinking they were following him, opened a way for himſelf, ſword in hand, to the door of the Hall, where, diſmayed as well as ſurpriſed at finding himſelf alone, he took the advice given him by a Deputy (*Merlin*) to put up his ſword, and go and take his poſt near the King in the box of the *Logographe*.

* He died three weeks after of this wound.

The

The reſt of the Swiſs and gentlemen went on by the ſide of the trees towards the *Champs-Elizées*, hoping to find ſome faithful troop whom they might join, or to be able to diſperſe more eaſily; but a freſh diſcharge obliged them to make for the Greenhouſe terrace, by which they took the way to the *Garde-Meubles*, with the view of eſcaping by the bouvelards or by the *Champs-Elizées*, or of taking ſhelter in houſes that might be open. The unfortunate Swiſs thus driven about, and all their ammunition ſpent, in vain ſought their ſafety in flight. Marked by their uniform, they were purſued with the moſt barbarous inveteracy, and wherever they went met aſſaſſins. When they left the Palace, their number amounted to three hundred, but very few eſcaped *. A great number of gentlemen met the ſame fate. Several owed their ſafety to the bold hoſpitality of the Venetian Ambaſſador, M. *Piſani*, who, notwithſtanding the riſk he

* When the brigands had no more of the Swiſs in uniform to maſſacre, thoſe monſters turned their fury againſt the Swiſs of the Hotels, who would all have met the fate of their brave and unfortunate countrymen, had they been leſs expeditious than they were in putting off their belts, and leaving their places.

ran

ran of forfeiting his privilege to ſcreen theſe loyal chevaliers from the aſſaſſins, received all who came to his Hotel, and let them out one by one under various diſguiſes. Thoſe who had the good fortune to get home, went without their ſwords, and ſeveral with great coats lent to them at different houſes.

While theſe murders were deluging with blood the *Place de Louis XV.* the *Rue Royale*, and the *Champs-Elizées*, the Marſeillois, the Federates, and the brigands of the Fauxbourgs, had returned to the *Carouſel* with large reinforcements, and more cannon, which were fired on the Palace for near a quarter of an hour, without doing any miſchief to it, except ſome of the roof. Great crowds went to the gates of the Courts, and attempted to enter; but they were again repulſed by the fire from the windows of the gallery of the Louvre, and by the ſmall guard that defended thoſe poſts. It was at this moment that the Aſſembly, terrified at the long reſiſtance made by the guard of the Palace, lamented that the Swiſs had not had orders not to fire. M. *Dubouchage*, the Miniſter of the Marine, declared that the order had been given, on which there was a general demand that it ſhould be repeated.

repeated. The difficulty, however, was to have any order whatever conveyed to the Palace while the continual fire of the beſiegers and beſieged prevented any one's approaching it. The King, who flattered himſelf that this new inſtance of goodneſs and confidence would induce the Aſſembly to treat him with more conſideration, was extremely unhappy at not being able to ſend the order.

M. *d'Hervilly* being in the box of the *Logographe* with the Royal Family, offered to carry the order, determined, at the ſame time, to make uſe of it in the manner moſt conducive to the ſafety of the Royal Family. The King and Queen were greatly affected at this proof of attachment; but unwilling to expoſe the life of one of their moſt valuable and faithful ſervants, they ſeized his arm to prevent him from withdrawing, preſſing his hand affectionately in theirs. Madame *Elizabeth* was impreſſed with the ſame ſentiments; and all three, with tears in their eyes, entreated him not to go. M. *d'Hervilly*, whoſe zeal was only the more animated by ſuch diſtinguiſhing marks of regard, renewed his demand with earneſtneſs.

" I entreat

" I entreat your Majeſties not to think of " the danger," ſaid he; " it is my duty to " brave it for your ſervice. My poſt is " *aux coups de fuſil*; and if I feared them, " I ſhould be unworthy of the name of a " ſoldier."

Theſe words, pronounced in a manner the moſt capable of inſpiring confidence, and the murmurs which the King's irreſolution excited in the Aſſembly, at length determined his Majeſty to write the order, and deliver it to M. *d'Hervilly*.

M. *de Vauzlemont*, a young officer of the artillery, full of courage and ardour, who had belonged to the King's guard under the command of M. *d'Hervilly*, was at the door of the box, and a witneſs to the above ſcene. He was that day in the uniform of the National grenadiers, which he always wore on thoſe occaſions, when he thought it moſt expedient for the King's ſervice. This gallant young man begged to be permitted to accompany his commanding officer, and to ſhare his dangers; but M. *d'Hervilly* expreſsly forbade him, ſaying that his poſt was at the door of the King's box, which he ought not to quit. In ſpite of this, he perſiſted in following M. *d'Hervilly*,

d'Hervilly, and ſhewed himſelf worthy of being his companion. When they arrived at the door of the Hall, next to the convent of the Theatins, the National guards and armed mob there aſſembled, recognizing M. *d'Hervilly* by his uniform of Mareſchal de Camp, ſeized and began to inſult him with horrid imprecations. M. *de Vauzlemont*, who was liſtened to on account of his uniform, aſſured them that M. *d'Hervilly* was the bearer of an order for the Swiſs guard to give over firing. They let him go, on his ſhewing him his order.

"Look ſharp after him, *camarade*," ſaid they to M. *de Vauzlemont*, "for you ſhall "anſwer for him."

This danger was nothing in compariſon of thoſe which ſtill awaited M. *d'Hervilly*. Hardly had he gained the ſtreet, than he met a detachment of the National guards and of the Sections, who, as ſoon as they knew him, fired upon him, but fortunately without injuring him. When he had gone on about two hundred paces farther, he was again fired at, and had again the good luck to eſcape. At the entry into the *Carouſel*, he was ſeized by two of the National guards. He knocked one to the

ground; the other ran off, after thruſting a bayonet, which he had in his hand, into M. *d'Hervilly*'s thigh, and leaving it there. M. *d'Hervilly* having plucked it out, proceeded, notwithſtanding the wound, to the court of the Swiſs, ſtill accompanied by M. *de Vauzlemont*. They were for a moment expoſed to a croſs fire of muſquetry and grape ſhot from the Palace and *Carouſel*, but arrived unhurt at the court of the Swiſs, whoſe courage ſeemed to be reanimated by the ſight of M. *d'Hervilly*, who, inſtead of making any mention of the King's order, immediately began to examine how he could beſt prolong the defence of that place, ſo as to gain time for the Royaliſts within the Palace to join the Swiſs, who were in number about two hundred and fifty, and whom, he expected, might ſtill be joined by the well-diſpoſed National guards, and in all make up ſuch a force as would have enabled him to repel the inſurgents, and to re-eſtabliſh the Royal Family in the Palace. He had hopes that the majority of the Pariſians would then have declared for the King, and would have expreſſed their abhorrence of the authors of the inſurrection; in which event he would

would never have been blamed for not having made uſe of the King's order; and if matters had turned out otherwiſe, he alone would have been anſwerable, as in that caſe he was determined to produce the order, which would have ſcreened his Majeſty from all blame.

In purſuance of this plan, having poſted the Swiſs and the cannon in the moſt advantageous manner for defending the courts, he proceeded to the Palace, attended by M. *Vauzlemont*; but in a narrow paſſage, which led to one of the back ſtairs, he again eſcaped being killed by a piſtol ſhot from a National guard, who lurked in a dark corner. Having thruſt his ſword through the body of this cowardly aſſaſſin, he walked on: but as he aſcended the ſtair, the tumult and horrible ſhrieks he heard obliged him to ſtop; and he was informed by a Swiſs, who came down ſtairs, that an immenſe armed populace had penetrated into the Palace by the gallery of the Louvre, and were maſſacring every one they met in their way. The Swiſs being evidently too few to continue the defence of the Palace on the ſide of the *Carouſel*, and to repel the numbers who had ruſhed in, M. *d'Hervilly* was forced to

abandon his project, which would have devoted to certain death ſo many brave ſoldiers, whoſe numbers diminiſhed every inſtant, while their courage continued unimpaired. He haſtened to join them, notiſied the King's order, and commanded them to follow him to the National Aſſembly, where the King and Royal Family were. As the attack was made by the *Carouſel* and Louvre, the only remaining way was by the garden of the Thuilleries; but even there they had no ſooner appeared, than they were expoſed to the fire of the cannon everywhere planted in it, and of the troops on the different terraces. On leaving the Palace, their number amounted to a hundred, but only ſixty reached the Aſſembly. They were carried to the Guard-houſe of the Feuillans, where they received an order from the King to give up their arms, change their clothes, and repair to the barracks at Courbevoye. Their clothes were given to the populace, who tore them up to ſhare the pieces, which the brigands fixed in their hats, to their bayonets, and their pikes, bearing them in triumph through the ſtreets, as trophies of their victory.

M. *d'Her-*

M. *d'Hervilly* had been able to take with him only the Swiſs who were in the Courts; thoſe who were at the poſts within retreated to the great ſtaircaſe, to the number of about eighty, and there defended themſelves with the greateſt courage for more than a quarter of an hour: they fell every man on the ſpot, after ſlaying at leaſt 400 of the rebels. The aſſailants, tranſported with rage, then went up into the apartments, and with the moſt horrible barbarity butchered all the Swiſs they found there, although they made no reſiſtance, and although ſeveral begged on their knees to be ſpared; of the latter ſome were thrown ſtill living out of the windows. Seventeen of them who had taken refuge in the Veſtry in vain cried *Vive la nation!* and laid down their arms, of which they had made no uſe; they were immediately maſſacred. About a hundred of theſe unfortunate ſoldiers attempted to eſcape by the Court *de Marſan*; they were ſoon in the midſt of an immenſe and furious crowd, who called *Down arms!* They ſurrendered without reſiſtance, thinking to appeaſe the people by their ſubmiſſion; eighty of them, however, were maſſacred in the *Rue de l'Echelle*, where

their bodies, ſtripped of their clothes, remained in a heap for two days, after having been mutilated in a manner too ſhocking and indecent to mention. The others had the good fortune to eſcape by running into ſhops, cellars, and under ſtaircaſes, &c. They were afterwards furniſhed with clothes to enable them to get away unknown. Of theſe ſeveral remained three days without nouriſhment. Another detachment of 80 Swiſs, being a part of thoſe who had paſſed through the Green-houſe Court, were on their way to Courbevoye under the command of four officers, and had proceeded as far as the *Champs-Elizées*, when they were overtaken and ſurrounded by the Horſe-Gendarmerie, who at the commencement of the attack on the Palace had joined the brigands. The people ſoon came up and ſeized the ſoldiers, whom they conducted to the *Hotel-de-Ville*, promiſing to ſave their lives; but the moment they came to the *Place-de-Greve* they were torn to pieces by the populace.

The number of the Swiſs guards ſaved either in private houſes or the Guard-houſe of the Feuillans, amounted to no more than 180: about 750, without reckoning their officers,

officers, were ſlaughtered*. Among their aſſaſſins were ſeen monſters drinking draughts of blood, and women, ſtill more ſavage, with knives in their hands, ſeizing the naked and palpitating bodies, and perpetrating with diabolical delight horrors that no barbariſm, no diſguſting impurity of imagination ever before offered to the ſight of man.

The brigands having made themſelves maſters of the Palace, vented their rage indiſcriminately on all the perſons they found there; the door-keepers, the porters, and even the ſervants of the loweſt claſs were all butchered with equal fury †. The blood running in ſtreams, the dead bodies lying about, and the furniture broken and thrown out of the windows, raiſed the dreadful

* From the maſſacre of this day, and thoſe of the 2d and 3d of September following, only thirteen altogether eſcaped.

† The only perſons ſpared were Meſdames *De Tarente*, *De la Roche-aymon*, and *De Gineſtoes*, Mademoiſelle *De Tourzel*, and the Queen's waiting maids, who had all taken refuge in her Majeſty's apartment, where a detachment of the National Guards took them under their protection and ſaved them. The Princeſs *de Lamballe* and Madame *De Tourzel* had followed the Royal Family to the Aſſembly, and were with their Majeſties in the box of the Logographe.

image of death and devaſtation through all the apartments of the Palace.

The news of the victory of the people, and of their being completely maſters of the Palace was confirmed to the Aſſembly by ſome of the brigands, who came freſh from the commiſſion of theſe crimes to make them an offering, on the part of the people, of papers, jewels, louis-d'ors, and aſſignats, taken from the eſcrutoires belonging to the King and Queen, which had been broken open: the Aſſembly expreſſed their great ſatisfaction at patriotiſm ſo pure, and decreed that all thoſe effects ſhould be lodged with the Commune.

Several deputations, compoſed of perſons of the loweſt claſs of the people, appeared ſucceſſively at the Bar, ſaying they were ſent by their Sections to demand the depoſition of the King, *as the only means of preventing the fatal alteration long planned by a treacherous Court, who were playing the fool with the French people.* "Dare," ſaid theſe ragged orators, "to ſwear that "you will ſave the Empire, and the Em-"pire is ſaved." On which the Deputies all holding up their hands at once cried out, "We ſwear it!"

At

At laſt a deputation from the new Commune appeared at the Bar with three banners, on which were the words, Country, Equality, Liberty, and gave notice of their appointment, as called for by the dangers of the country. "The people have placed "their confidence in us," added the ſpeaker, "and we will juſtify it by our zeal. *Petion*, "*Manuel*, and *Danton* are ſtill our col- "leagues. *Santerre* is at the head of the "armed force. The blood of the people "has been ſpilt; foreign troops, Swiſs ſol- "diers, whoſe continuance at Paris is ano- "ther of the crimes of the Executive "Power, have fired upon the citizens: "widows and orphans are calling for their "huſbands and their fathers, and we, the "faithful organ of the ſentiments and will "of the people, call upon you, in their "name, for the depoſition of the chief of "the Executive Power."

"You have mentioned *Petion*," replied the Preſident, "but *Petion* is confined in his "houſe, and cannot ſpeak to the people: "you know whether he wiſhes it or not. "We invite you to countermand the order "which prevents his appearing among his "fellow citizens."

This

This timid invitation, which was addreſſed to villains, who having no legal character to authoriſe their appearing at the Bar, ſhould have been driven from it, was followed by a proclamation, the baſe ſupplicating ſtyle of which truly ſhows the cowardice and terror that at this moment prevailed in the Aſſembly: it was expreſſed in theſe words:

"If the firſt of the Conſtituted authori-
"ties is ſtill ſuſpected; if the Repreſenta-
"tives of the people, who are anxious for
"their happineſs, ſtill retain over them the
"aſcendancy of confidence and of reaſon,
"they beſeech the citizens, and in the
"name of the law command them, to
"countermand the order given at the Hotel-
"de-Ville, and reſtore to the ſight of the
"people their beloved magiſtrate."

This Aſſembly, ſo arrogant and ſo intrepid in their conduct to the King, trembled before a handful of brigands. They ſtrove in vain to reſume a leſs humiliating ſtate, by frequently renewing, ſometimes by acclamation, ſometimes on a call of names, the oath of maintaining liberty and equality with all their power, or dying at their poſt; fear had annihilated all their powers, and their oaths, which were violated with the moſt

moſt ſhameful puſillanimity whenever they were to act, were only a ridiculous rhodomontade. How often had they ſworn to maintain the Conſtitution to their laſt breath? Scarcely had a few hours paſſed ſince their Preſident aſſured the King *that he might depend upon the firmneſs of the National Aſſembly, and that all the Members of it had ſworn to die or ſupport the rights of the people and of the Conſtituted Authorities* *; yet at the very moment they gave his Majeſty this perfidious aſſurance, they were preparing to give the laſt blow to the Conſtitution, and to complete their conſpiracy againſt the firſt of the Conſtituted Authorities! Indeed, the Commiſſion of the Twelve were then framing a decree for the ſuſpenſion of the King. They no doubt wiſhed to have it conſidered as a decree *de circonſtance*, by bringing it forward at a time when the moſt furious actors in the bloody ſcenes going on at the Thuilleries, came at intervals to the Bar of the Aſſembly to reſt from their murders, and to demand, or ra-

* They did not, however, dare to ſhew the ſlighteſt diſapprobation of the violent diſſolution of the Conſtitutional Commune of Paris.

ther

ther to order, with the moſt horrible imprecations and blaſphemies, the depoſition of the King. "Know," ſaid one of them to the Aſſembly, at the ſame time ſhewing his naked and bloody arm, "that the Thuille-"ries is on fire*, and that we will not "ſtop it till the vengeance of the people is "ſatisfied. I am charged once more, in "the name of the people, to demand of "you the depoſition of the Executive "Power."

Vergniaux then appeared in the Tribune as Reporter of the Commiſſion of the Twelve, and ſaid, "I come to propoſe to "you a very vigorous meaſure; but I ap-"peal to *the grief* you feel, to judge how "neceſſary it is for the ſafety of the coun-"try that you ſhould adopt it immediately." This was the whole of his report on the moſt important queſtion the Aſſembly had ever yet to decide. The decree he propoſed, and which they adopted unanimouſly without the leaſt diſcuſſion, was drawn up in the following form:

* The brigands had ſet fire to the two ſtables which had been built for the uſe of the horſe guards, and to the buildings which parted the Thuilleries from the ſquare of the Carouſel.

"The

" The National Aſſembly, conſidering " that the dangers of the country are at " their higheſt pitch;

" That it is the moſt ſacred duty of the " Legiſlative Body to uſe every means to " ſave it;

" That it is impoſſible to find effectual " ones, but by ſtopping the ſource of their " evils;

" Conſidering that thoſe evils ariſe chiefly " from the diſtruſts created by the conduct " of the Chief of the Executive Power, " in a war undertaken in his name againſt " the Conſtitution and National independ- " ence;

" That thoſe diſtruſts have excited in " ſeveral parts of the Empire a wiſh for " the revocation of the authority delegated " to *Louis XVI.*;

" Conſidering, nevertheleſs, that the Le- " giſlative Body neither ought nor wiſh to " extend their own authority by any uſur- " pation;

" That in the extraordinary circumſtances " into which they have been thrown by " events unprovided for by any of the laws, " they cannot reconcile their fidelity to the " Conſtitution with their firm reſolution of burying

" burying themſelves under the ruins of " the temple of liberty, rather than ſuffer " it to be deſtroyed, but by having recourſe " to the ſovereignty of the people, and " taking, in the mean time, precautions " to prevent that recourſe from being ren- " dered illuſory by treachery, DECREE as " follows:

" Art. 1. The French people are called " upon to form a National Convention: " the Extraordinary Commiſſion ſhall pre- " ſent a plan to-morrow for pointing out " the mode and period of this Convention.

" Art. 2. The Chief of the Executive " Power is proviſionally ſuſpended from " his functions until the National Conven- " tion ſhall determine on the meaſures they " ſhall think proper to adopt for ſecuring " the ſovereignty of the people, and the " reign of liberty and equality.

" Art. 3. The Extraordinary Commiſſion " ſhall, in the courſe of the day, preſent a " plan for forming a new Miniſtry; the " Miniſters actually in office ſhall provi- " ſionally continue the exerciſe of their " functions.

" Art. 4. The Extraordinary Commiſſion " ſhall, in the courſe of the day, preſent a

" plan

" plan for a decree on the appointment of " a Governor for the Prince Royal.

" Art. 5. The payment of the Civil Liſt " ſhall be ſuſpended till the deciſion of the " National Convention. The Extraordi- " nary Commiſſion ſhall preſent a plan in " twenty-four hours for a decree on the " allowance to be granted to the King du- " ring his ſuſpenſion.

" Art. 6. The books of the Civil Liſt " ſhall be depoſited on the table of the " National Aſſembly, being firſt endorſed " by two Commiſſioners from the Aſſem- " bly, who ſhall go for that purpoſe to " the office of the Comptroller of the Civil " Liſt.

" Art. 7. The King and his Family ſhall " remain near the Legiſlative Body, until " tranquillity is re-eſtabliſhed in Paris.

" Art. 8. The Department ſhall give or- " ders for apartments to be prepared for " the King and his family, in the courſe of " the day, at the Luxembourg, where they " ſhall be placed under the guard of the " citizens and of the law.

" Art. 9. Every public functionary, every " ſoldier, ſubaltern officer, officer of any " rank whatever, and general of an army,

" who

" who in theſe days of alarm ſhall deſert " his poſt, is declared infamous, and a " traitor to his country.

" Art. 10. The Department and the Mu- " nicipality of Paris ſhall cauſe the preſent " decree to be immediately proclaimed in a " ſolemn manner.

" Art. 11. It ſhall be ſent expreſs, by " extraordinary meſſengers, to the 83 De- " partments, who are required to forward " it in four-and-twenty hours to the Muni- " cipalities in their juriſdiction, to be there " proclaimed with like ſolemnity."

After this formal act of perjury, the Aſſembly decreed an addreſs to the French people, to make amends for the laconiſm of the Reporter of the Commiſſion of the Twelve, and for the ſilence of his colleagues on the annihilation of the Conſtitution. This addreſs is at leaſt remarkable for being an everlaſting proof of the enormity of the crime committed by thoſe villains in the name of the nation. Here the following paſſage will ſuffice:

" Long have the Departments been con- " vulſed with tormenting apprehenſions; " long have the people been expecting from " their

" their Repreſentatives meaſures that might " ſave them. • *This day the citizens of* " *Paris have declared to the Legiſlative* " *Body that they are the only authority* " *that has preſerved their confidence*; and " the Members of the Aſſembly have ſworn " individually, in the name of the nation, " to maintain liberty and equality, or die at " their poſt: they will be faithful to their " oath."

It is proved to demonſtration by the facts reported in all the Journals of the time, that there were no apprehenſions exiſting in the Departments, but thoſe that were ſpread by the factious, who wiſhed to overturn the Conſtitution and the Monarchy. To have removed thoſe apprehenſions, they had only to ceaſe the manœuvres that kept them up.

Long have the people been expecting from their Repreſentatives meaſures that might ſave them. Was it to ſatisfy their expectation that, in ſpite of the repreſentations of the Directory of the Department, they refuſed to take any precaution, or give any order for preventing the aſſembling and arming of the brigands in the night between the 9th and 10th of Auguſt? Was it as a meaſure to ſave the people, that they paſſed

a decree which ſo ſhamefully violated the Conſtitution ſtill dear to the people? Was it to juſtify their confidence, that notwithſtanding the general indignation created by the outrages of the 20th of June, they excited and encouraged outrages infinitely more ſerious againſt the King, and crowned them by decreeing his ſuſpenſion?

As for the pretended confidence ſaid by this addreſs to have been expreſſed by the citizens of Paris on the 10th of Auguſt to the Legiſlative Body, excluſive of the other Conſtituted Authorities, it is a clumſy falſehood; for the proclamation decreed only an hour before relative to *Petion*, which I have reported, demonſtrates that the Aſſembly were very far from being certain that they preſerved the confidence of the people in the ſlighteſt degree. All the teſtimonies that they afterwards received of it, conſiſted in particular petitions from ſome artillery-men and brigands of the Fauxbourgs, who went to deſire, or rather to command, the depoſition of the King in the moſt menacing tone; but even if all the citizens of Paris had united to declare to the Legiſlative Body that they had confidence only in them, ſuch a declaration, confined to the Pariſians, muſt have

have been totally unknown to all the other Departments whom the Legiſlative Body repreſented, and whoſe wiſh* they ought to have conſulted before they proviſionally annihilated the Monarchy.

Notwithſtanding the decree, enacting *the proviſional ſuſpenſion* of the King, new petitioners, ignorant, perhaps, of the meaning of the word ſuſpenſion, and not having time to have other harangues compoſed, appeared and demanded more violently than ever the depoſition of the Chief of the Executive Power. The Preſident not knowing what reply to make, was aſſiſted by *Vergniaud*, who after paying great compliments to thoſe virtuous citizens on the purity of their ſentiments, and on their reſpect for the laws, explained to them in the gentleſt manner, *that the Repreſentatives of the people had done all they were permitted by the powers delegated to them, when they decreed that a National Convention ſhould be appointed to determine the queſtion of depoſition; and that, in the mean time, the*

* The wiſh of the citizens of Paris could only be grounds for ſome reform in their Municipal code, or ſome regulation peculiar to the Capital.

ſuſpenſion pronounced by the Aſſembly ought to be ſufficient to remove from the minds of the people the fear of any treachery from the Executive Power, inaſmuch as that ſuſpenſion rendered it impoſſible for him to do harm, or even to act in any manner whatever. "From this explanation," added he, "I hope that the people will have the "goodneſs to hear and underſtand the "truth; and that as the petitioners poſſeſs "the confidence of the citizens, they will "go among them and inform them of what "the Aſſembly have done, aſſuring them "that we will do every thing to ſave them, "and that we are ready to die for the people "and for liberty."

Theſe illuſtrations ſatisfied the petitioners; but could the good ſenſe of the nation be likewiſe ſatisfied with them? Was it not well known that there was not a ſingle article in the Conſtitution that authorized the Legiſlative Body to convoke a National Convention, or to ſuſpend the King*? If any one of the caſes of a preſumed abdication,

* The words National Convention, ſuſpenſion of the Executive Power, were not even to be found in the Conſtitution.

provided

provided for by the Conſtitution, had been drawn up and proved, the Aſſembly might have declared that the King was judged to have abdicated; but there would have ended the powers and the Miniſtry of the Legiſlative Body. The rights of the preſumptive heir to the Crown would have then commenced: he was a minor, there would have been a regency; the Conſtitution had foreſeen and regulated all this. Had the Legiſlative Body acted according to it, the Conſtitutional Monarchy would ſtill have been maintained, and, bad as it was, would certainly have been preferable to the horrors of the anarchy and deſpotiſm which ſucceeded it. Such, in fact, was the plan of the Gironde party, who, after having long ruled among the Jacobins, had loſt their influence over them, and had ultimately abſented themſelves from their Clubs, in the hope of throwing, by that means, a diſcredit on the meaſures adopted there, the extreme violence of which counteracted their views. The effect of the event of the 10th of Auguſt, the plan of which had been formed and directed by the Girondiſts, was meant to be extended no farther than to oblige the Aſſembly to declare that the King was

judged to have abdicated, and to place the Dauphin on the Throne, with a Council of Regency, which the faction would have compoſed of their own creatures; but they were forcibly carried much farther than they wiſhed to go by the furious impetuoſity of the *Dantons*, *Robeſpierres*, &c. who making themſelves maſters of the Revolutionary motion, impelled it to the abolition of Royalty.

The forms which the Girondiſts had prepared beforehand for decrees to regulate the Government that was to be eſtabliſhed after pronouncing the King's abdication, almoſt all ſerved, by only changing ſome words, for the creation of the Revolutionary Executive Power during his Majeſty's ſuſpenſion. No wonder, then, that thoſe decrees, in a manner ready made, ſhould have been brought forward with ſuch rapidity. The firſt, conſiſting of nine articles, declared, that as the Miniſters in office did not poſſeſs the confidence of the nation, the National Aſſembly would provide ſucceſſors for them by an election, in which all the Members ſhould openly and individually give their votes; that none of the new Miniſters ſhall be choſen from the Aſſembly; and

and that the ſame mode of election ſhould be followed in the appointment of the Secretary of the Council, and of the Governor for the Prince Royal: the ſecond enacted, that until the formation of the new Miniſtry, the Committee of the Decrees ſhould be proviſionally charged with ſending out all the laws and acts of the Legiſlative Body: a third ordained, that from the 10th of Auguſt all the decrees ſhould be printed and publiſhed without a preamble, that they ſhould be concluded with the uſual mandate, and ſigned by the Miniſter of Juſtice in the name of the nation; that the decrees already paſſed, and not ſanctioned, ſhould have the force of laws, and that the Miniſters ſhould together draw up and ſign addreſſes, proclamations, and other acts of the ſame kind.

While the Aſſembly were voting theſe decrees without the leaſt diſcuſſion, information was brought that the ferment and aſſaſſination* ſtill continued; on which they

* In the long liſt of the victims of this horrid day, was M. *de Clermont Tonnerre*, one of the Members of the Firſt Aſſembly moſt diſtinguiſhed for his talents, for his errors, and for his endeavours to atone for them. M. *Carle*, Colonel of the Gendarmerie, alſo loſt his life for the proofs of attachment he had given the King.

immediately ordered the following words to be printed and ſtuck up in large letters on the walls and public places:

The King is ſuſpended; he and his family remain as hoſtages.

The preſent Miniſtry have not the confidence of the nation, and the Aſſembly are going to ſuperſede them.

The Civil Liſt ceaſes.

Having thus publiſhed the certificate of their crimes, and of their title to the gratitude of the rebels, the Aſſembly ſhowed themſelves more and more worthy of their confidence, by paſſing, as ſoon as propoſed, ſuch decrees as muſt be moſt agreeable to them. They voted, as a meaſure of ſafety, the permanence of their Sitting till the meeting of the National Convention, and an eſtabliſhment of a camp under the walls of Paris, to be formed of all citizens who choſe to enliſt. They granted the cannoniers the permiſſion which they had aſked, of planting artillery on the heights of Montmartre; they authorized the Adminiſtrative and Municipal Bodies to make domiciliary viſits, to take away whatever powder and arms

arms might be found concealed in the houſes of *ſuſpicious perſons*; they recalled *Roland*, *Clavicre*, and *Servan* to the Miniſtry by acclamation; appointed the infamous *Danton*, one of the moſt violent inſtigators of the rebellion, to the Judiciary Department; *Monge*, a furious Jacobin, to the Marine Department; and *Le Brun*, a ſimilar demagogue, to the Department of Foreign Affairs; laſtly, they entirely aboliſhed the diſtinction of citizens active and not active; and to the intent of eſtabliſhing the grand principle of equality in as formal a manner as poſſible, they decreed that in future, and for the approaching Convention, every citizen of the age of twenty-one years, and maintaining himſelf by his own labour, ſhould be admitted to vote without any diſtinction in the Primary Aſſembles *.

The King, ſtill ſhut up in the box of the *Logographe*, was witneſs to theſe criminal

* There could not be a ſurer way of compoſing the Aſſembly that was to determine the fate of the King of the greateſt villains in the kingdom. Truth, however, calls upon me to ſtate that there were but 284 Deputies out of 745, who attended the Sitting of the 10th of Auguſt; that is, fewer than two-fifths of the Members of the Aſſembly.

proceed-

proceedings; he heard, with unaltered ſerenity, the moſt threatening petitions demanding his depoſition, the regicide vociferations of the galleries, and the Report of the Commiſſion of the Twelve, which dethroned him. The unhappy monarch, long reſigned to every ſpecies of outrage, and perhaps too timid to have repelled them, even if he had had the means, thought only of bearing them with all the dignity his ſituation admitted, and of ſuſtaining the courage of his family by his example. The Queen, who was extremely anxious for the women whom ſhe had left in the Palace, inquired for them, with the moſt affecting emotion, of every perſon who came from the Thuilleries. She had at laſt the conſolation of hearing that they were ſaved, and ſhe reſumed that calm and majeſtic mien by which ſhe always appeared ſuperior to inſult and danger. The demeanour of *Madame Royale* was the counterpart of the Queen's, qualified with the ſoftneſs, timidity, and grace peculiar to her age. Mildneſs and indignation were alternately marked on the features of Madame *Elizabeth*, and more than once, to prevent the latter from breaking out, ſhe was obliged to look at her brother.

ther. The Dauphin, overcome with heat, and ſleeping on his mother's boſom, completed this affecting picture; and the contraſt of innocence repoſing amidſt the bellowings of guilt and ferocity gave it an inexpreſſible intereſt*.

At eight in the evening, the approach of night, the glimmering of the flames expiring in the ſquare of the *Carouſel*, the naked bodies of the murdered Swiſs, the appearance of ruin and deſtruction throughout the Palace, the confuſed ſhouts of the multitude, and particularly that of *Vive la nation!* which had ſignalized the maſſacres of the day, all concurred to prolong dread and horror.

The Luxembourg having been appointed for the reſidence of the Royal Family, they expected every moment to be removed thither; but a deputation of the Section of *Les Quatre Nations* having announced that the ſubterraneous paſſages of that Palace

* The Election of a Governor ſhould have followed that of the Miniſters, but it was put off till the meeting of the National Convention on the grounds of its *being neceſſary previouſly to taking into conſideration the education of a Prince Royal, to know whether the nation ſtill choſe Royalty.*

greatly

greatly alarmed the citizens, the Aſſembly commiſſioned the Committee of that Section to aſcertain the facts, and to take the meaſures neceſſary to remove all alarms relative to the King's ſafety. Their Majeſties were conſequently detained in the box of the Logographe, which they did not leave till one o'clock in the morning, after paſſing ſixteen horrible hours in it without having been able to procure any other refreſhment than ſome fruit and a beverage made of currants. From this place they were carried to the lodging of the Architect of the Feuillans, under an eſcort of a detachment of the National Guard and Commiſſioners from the Aſſembly appointed for that purpoſe. This lodging conſiſted of four ſmall rooms. Five gentlemen*, who were determined not to quit the King, paſſed the night in the firſt, which ſerved as an anti-chamber. The King lay down without taking off his clothes in the ſecond; the Queen, with her children, took the third; and Madame *Elizabeth*, the Princeſs *de Lamballe*, and

* The Duke *de Choiſeuil*, M. *de Rohan Chabot*, formerly aid-de-camp to M. *de la Fayette*, and M. M. *Obyer* and *Goguelat*.

Mademoiſelle

Mademoiſelle *de Tourzel* went to the fourth, in which they found only three mattreſſes thrown upon the floor? Thus terminated this day of blood, every minute of which was marked with thouſands of crimes*.

* See Private Memoirs, chap. XXXIII.

CHAP-

CHAPTER XXIX.

The New Commune, ruled by Robeſpierre, aſſume abſolute Sway over the Aſſembly—Maſſacres continued—The Royal Family carried back to the Box of the Logographe—Means employed by an unknown Perſon to ſave the remaining Swiſs from being maſſacred by the Populace—Petion brought by the Commune to the Aſſembly—Dreadful Situation of the King—His Guard changed—His Remark on being deprived of the Friends ſtill adhering to his Perſon—M. de Rohan-Chabot ſent to the Abbaye—The Queen's Reply to the Gentlemen

Gentlemen who at taking leave offered all their Money—Their Majeſties ſent to the Tower of the Temple—Manifeſto of the Aſſembly on the Suſpenſion of the King, and Convocation of a National Convention.

THE Monarchy was now at an end, and the reign of *Robeſpierre* already commenced. He was a Member of the Revolutionary Commune; and ruling them by his energy, as well as by the preponderance given to him by his having been one of the Conſtituent Aſſembly, he had directed the temerity of thoſe brigands with ſuch complete ſucceſs, that, before the day was over, they had annihilated or diſorganized all the Conſtituted Authorities, and uſurped all the powers. They had reduced the Aſſembly to exerciſing only a portion of the Legiſlative Power, which it was to their advantage to leave them, in order to inveſt the acts of their ſovereignty with the Conſtitutional form to which the people had been accuſtomed, and to whom it would have been imprudent ſo ſoon to ſhow that that Conſtitution, which the day before was ſtill the object of their enthuſiaſm,

enthuſiaſm, and one of the principal rallying ſhouts of the inſurrection was but an unmeaning word: thus, Commiſſioners from the Commune, with *Robeſpierre* frequently at their head, were conſtantly going to tranſmit their will to the Aſſembly, who, forming their petitions into motions, immediately decreed them without daring to diſcuſs them; and when, after obtaining thoſe decrees, the Commune changed their minds and came to propoſe others directly contrary; the Aſſembly was no leſs ready to adopt them*.

This daſtardly ſubmiſſion, this ſcandalous ſervility of the Repreſentatives of the na-

* It had been decreed that the Royal Family ſhould be removed to the Luxembourg: the Commiſſioners of the Commune went and repreſented that their Majeſties would be more ſecure at the *Hotel de la Chancellerie*, and the Aſſembly had paſſed a decree conformably to thoſe repreſentaions. Some hours after this, *Robeſpierre*, who was not at the Commune when they entered into that reſolution, and who already conſidered the Royal Family as his prey, determined that they ſhould be confined in a priſon, and in conſequence dictated another Reſolution, that new Commiſſioners ſhould go and demand of the Aſſembly that, as the walls of the garden of *La Chancellerie* were very inſecure, the King and his family ſhould be ſent to the tower of the Temple, which the Aſſembly did not heſitate to decree.

tion

guiſh the fire that was burnin the buildings of the Palace. The Thuilleries, deſerted and open to all who choſe to go, was ſtill ſtained with blood and ſtrewed with dead bodies. The ſhops were ſhut; a profound ſilence reigned through all the ſtreets except thoſe where the brigands were; and perſons whoſe buſineſs called them from home were obliged to diſguiſe themſelves in the ſhabbieſt clothes before they ventured abroad. The town would ſoon have been empty if the inhabitants had been permitted to leave it; but the Commune had ordered all the barriers to be ſhut.

The King and his family were brought back to the box of the Logographe at ten o'clock in the morning, and as they entered, heard the cannibals crying out for the heads of the Swiſs. The Aſſembly, too baſe, too much terrified to dare to adopt meaſures of vigour, confined themſelves to ordering that *Santerre* ſhould be called to the Bar. So great was the panic, that the Hall-keepers went and gave the King notice to go into the narrow paſſage of the box as ſoon as the people had forced by the centinels. His Majeſty's firſt words on receiving this advice

tion to villains who had violently inveſted themſelves with the Municipal Power, did not prevent the Commune in urgent caſes from arbitrarily exerciſing, without the intervention of the Aſſembly, the powers that had evidently developed on the Legiſlative Body*.

On the 11th of Auguſt the Capital was ſtill in the moſt violent ferment. The populace were calling aloud for the death of the ſixty Swiſs ſoldiers ſhut up the day before in the building of the Feuillans, and in the meantime till they could get them, they employed themſelves in demoliſhing the ſtatues of the Kings in the public places. The Marſeillois and Federates continued aſſaſſinating in the ſtreets all perſons pointed out to them as Royaliſts, and even fired upon the men working the engines to extin-

* They ſuſpended the Committees of the Sections, the Directory and Council of the Department, impriſoned the Juſtices of the Peace who compoſed the Police Courts, ſuſpended all the other Juſtices of the Capital, and transferred their functions to the General Aſſemblies of the Sections. The Aſſembly authorized them alſo to name each, one of their Members to diſcharge proviſionally the functions of Adminiſtrators of the Department.

vice were, to deſire that the faithful ſervants about him would go away and avoid the danger. The ex-capuchin *Chabot*, and one of his colleagues, as great a patriot as himſelf, were ſent to harangue the people, and endeavour, by the means of perſuaſion, to lead them back *to the ſentiments of humanity and generoſity that were ſo natural to them*: their harangues, however, were anſwered with hootings and ſhouts of *Down Speaker!* and the Swiſs owed their preſervation entirely to the zeal, addreſs, and courage of a man of the loweſt claſs, whom Providence ſent to their relief. This man having gained admiſſion to the Bar of the Aſſembly, ſaid that the citizens who were calling for the heads of the Swiſs thought them guilty, but that he had been witneſs of their conduct, and could atteſt their innocence. "Yeſterday," added he, "before "the firing began, perceiving the treacher-"ous deſigns of the Court, they ſeparated "from the body of the troops, and formed "themſelves into a platoon oppoſite the "terrace of the Feuillans, where they "might have ſhot 3,000 men, women, "and children, but they fired in the air,

" and cried *Vive la nation*! All the
" Members of the Aſſembly have it in
" their power to confirm what I ſay, for
" they muſt have heard the diſcharge. To
" ſave theſe worthy men, I beſeech you,
" Mr. Preſident, to invite the galleries,
" who have now heard theſe facts, and the
" atteſtation given to them by the Members
" of the Aſſembly, to go with me and ſpeak
" to the people, who will rely on theſe wor-
" thy *Sans-culottes*, to whom I conſider it an
" honour to belong: we ſhall make them
" liſten to the language of reaſon, which is
" far more powerful than that of bayonets:
" yes, my friends, follow me, we are
" going to do a good action."

This addreſs produced great emotion in the Aſſembly, and the Speaker was followed out by the perſons in the galleries. In a very ſhort time they returned to the Bar,

* The fact is, that thoſe ſixty Swiſs, whom M. *D'Hervilly* had led from the Palace, had aſſiſted in defending it as well as their comrades, and that when they got to the Terrace of the Feuillans they diſcharged their muſkets in the air before they entered the precincts of the Hall, that they might not be uſed againſt themſelves if obliged to give them up.

leading

leading in and embracing the Swiſs, whom they had juſtified and delivered. This ſcene would have been ſtill more affecting had it not been ſullied by the falſhoods of *Chabot* and his colleague, who, to exculpate the people, ſhamefully aſſerted that they had ſeen in the crowd Ariſtocrats in diſguiſe buſy in miſleading the *Sans-culottes*. Inſtead of taking advantage of ſo favourable a circumſtance to abate the agitation of the people, thoſe ſcoundrels ſtrove only to keep it up: they ſtill ſtood in need of the fury of the populace, and it was on their motion that the Aſſembly, who ſhould have ſet at liberty thoſe Swiſs whom the people had abſolved, decreed that they ſhould be carried to the priſon of the Abbaye to be tried by a Court-Martial, the appointment of which they aſſigned to *Santerre**. The proviſional Commandant of the National Guard having been ſent for, appeared at this moment at the Bar, and ſaid that the Capital was ſtill in a great ferment, and that it was proper that the King and his family ſhould remain within the precinct of the Aſſembly.

* A Member of the Commune appeared and demanded that the Swiſs ſhould be confined in the *Palais-Bourbon*, which was moved and decreed.

The fate of their Majeſties gave much leſs concern to the Legiſlative Body than that of the *virtuous Petion*, ſtill impriſoned and kept in ſight at the Mayor's Hotel; but as it was by the omnipotence of the new Commune that he was confined there, the Aſſembly were lamenting it without daring to proceed to any act reſpecting him, when the authors of his confinement appeared and announced that he ſhould be reſtored to his full liberty in a few minutes; that the Commune had put him under a guard at home only becauſe they well knew a plot had been laid by aſſaſſins who wanted to take his life, and who had aſſembled at Meudon, whither they had ſent a force. This abſured ſtory deceived no one; it was generally known that there exiſted no other plot againſt *Petion* than that of the Commune themſelves; but who would have dared at this time to contradict them? They were too powerful to fear it.

Petion at length appeared at the Bar, accompanied by ſeveral Municipal officers, who, as they preſented him, cavalierly addreſſed the Aſſembly in this ſhort ſentence: "Legiſlators! the friends of the people "are come to reſtore to the friends of the "people

" people the friend of the people." After this the Mayor expreſſed the great ſatisfaction he had experienced in paſſing through the Capital. " The people," ſaid he, " are " every where bleſſing you, they are every " where bleſſing your decrees; it is in the " name of the Aſſembly that we have every " where maintained order. The people, " ever good, ever juſt, have declared that " they have confidence in their magiſtrates, " and that they will not ſuffer them to be " calumniated. I anſwer for no violence " being offered to the Swiſs; for the people " have promiſed us, and the people will " keep their promiſe: they are now ſenſible " of the neceſſity of relying on the laws, " and of appealing to them for vengeance." But while *Petion* was thus wheedling the people and the Aſſembly, that people, *ever good* and *ever juſt*, inſtead of *relying on* the laws, were with fury ſearching for all the Conſtitutional or Royaliſt editors of papers, arreſting, ill treating, and dragging to priſon thoſe who had not had the prudence or time to conceal themſelves*, de-

* Among the number was the unfortunate *Duroſoi*, the editor of the paper, entitled, *The Friend of the King*, a writer eſteemed for his talents, principles, and courage, but whoſe zeal was frequently indiſcreet.

ſtroying their houſes, and carrying away or breaking their furniture and preſſes.

It would be too tedious to report the harangues of the vaſt number of deputations who, to crown the outrages committed againſt the Royal Family, appeared at this Sitting to celebrate the glory of the 10th of Auguſt, and to compliment the Aſſembly on their crimes. Nor will I diſguſt the Reader with an account of the atrocious motions and remarks which their Majeſties were compelled to hear; it ſeemed as if the preſence of that auguſt and intereſting family ſerved but to augment the ſcandalous fury of thoſe villains, whoſe words, whoſe very looks, as they were turned towards the box of the Logographe, already voted the regicide. What pang could have been more acute to the feeling heart of *Louis* XVI. than that of no longer being able to attribute the outrages heaped upon him to a tranſient error, and of ſeeing that the factious had ſucceeded in rendering him hateful to that people whom he had ſo much loved, whom he ſtill loved, and for whom he had ſacrificed every thing? The King, who the day before was more agitated with the dread of the danger that threatened his family and the

the perſons attached to him, appeared on this day more deeply afflicted. On going back to the Feuillans, the comfort of being again alone with his family, and the ſmall number of faithful ſervants, who had not left him for eight-and-forty hours, baniſhed from his mind for a moment the painful thoughts that weighed it down. Unfortunately, the King's apartment was next to the room where the Committee of Inſpection held their meetings. Some of the Members having heard their Majeſties converſing familiarly with the perſons about them, immediately concluded that they were laying ſome plot to carry off the Royal Family, and denounced it the very next day to the Aſſembly. The Commiſſioners of the Commune, who happened to be preſent, ſupported this denunciation by atteſting againſt all truth, that there were ſtill many falſe patrols. "How do you think," ſaid ſome, "that the Aſſembly can anſwer for the "King's exiſtence, if we permit people "whom we do not know to go to him?" This remark was followed by ſeveral motions, each new one exceeding the foregoing in barbarity; and the Aſſembly decreed that the Commandant of the National guard ſhould be reſponſible

reſponſible for the King's ſafety, and ſhould take whatever ſteps he thought proper to provide for it; that the King's guard ſhould be changed, and that while the Royal Family remained in the precinct of the Legiſlative Body, they ſhould be guarded by fifteen men of the *Gendarmerie* and fifteen of the National Guards.

This decree was immediately put into execution, and the moſt furious patriots that could be picked out of the troops were made their Majeſties' new guard. The King, perceiving the change by the difficulties that occurred in his ſervice, and by the coarſe and inſolent language uſed by the wretches at his door, ſent for the hall-keepers, and aſked them the reaſon of theſe new affronts. They told him that the people were determined to remove from the Royal Family the ſuſpicious perſons who waited upon them, and that it was neceſſary that they ſhould retire, to prevent freſh exceſſes and greater evils. "I "am in priſon then, Gentlemen," replied the King coolly. "*Charles* I. was happier than I; he retained his friends till "he aſcended the ſcaffold."

M. *de Rohan-Chabot*, one of the five gentlemen who had attended the Royal Family

mily to the Aſſembly, having gone out on a commiſſion for their Majeſties, was arreſted as a ſuſpicious perſon and carried before the Aſſembly, who, after examining him, ſent him to the Committee of the Section, and directed ſeals to be put on his papers. The Committee ordered him to the priſon of the Abbaye*. The King, fearing leſt the four gentlemen who remained with him ſhould meet with the ſame fate, inſiſted upon their leaving him. As he gave the order his eyes filled with tears; he embraced them as he received their laſt farewel, and made them embrace his children. As they were going, they preſented all the money and aſſignats they had about them to the King, but his Majeſty would accept none from them. "Keep your money, gentlemen," ſaid the Queen, "you have more occaſion for it "than we: you, I hope, have long to "live." One of them, M. *Obyer*, threw a rouleau of fifty louis-dors on the table and ran off, that he might not be compelled to take it back. This ſcene of anguiſh left the Royal Family in a ſtate of depreſſion and

* He was one of the firſt victims in the maſſacre of the 2d and 3d of September.

conſternation

conſternation more eaſily conceived than deſcribed. Their Majeſties, nevertheleſs, returned to their place in the box of the Logographe, where they again heard petitioners accuſe *Louis* XVI. of betraying the people, blame the Aſſembly for decreeing only his ſuſpenſion, and demand his depoſition as indiſpenſable for the re-eſtabliſhment of the National tranquillity.

It was not till Monday, the 13th of Auguſt, that by virtue of a decree on a motion made by *Manuel*, the Royal Family were conveyed to the tower of the Temple in two carriages. The Mayor and *Procureur* of the *Commune* went in the King's. They had promiſed the Aſſembly to ſhow their Majeſties the conſideration and reſpect due to misfortune; but they took no ſtep to prevent or to check the groſs inſults the King and Queen experienced from the populace as they went on, and they were near two hours on their way.

Thus was the auguſt deſcendant of ſo many Kings, the worthy ſucceſſor of *St. Louis*, *Louis* XII. and *Henry* IV. after a reign, almoſt every day of which had been marked with freſh benefits to his people, driven from his Palace by that very people in

in a paroxyſm of fury, loaded with abuſe for three whole days, even within the walls of the Aſſembly of the Repreſentatives of the nation, and dragged ſhamefully to priſon, with all his family, like the vileſt of criminals*.

* The Princeſs *de Lamballe*, Madame *de Tourzel*, and her daughter had requeſted and had been permitted as a favour to be confined in the Temple with the Queen; but in the night of the 18th of Auguſt they were taken away and ſent to the priſon of *La Force*, as were alſo her Majeſty's waiting-maids, who had attended her to the Temple. The Queen and Princeſſes had now no other attendance than that of the King's valet-de-chambre, and one *Tiſſon*, a kind of under-jailer, whom, with his wife, the Commune had placed in the Temple, leſs to ſerve the Royal Family than to be ſpies upon them, and to watch the conduct of all who went near them. Their Majeſties were not only deprived of the comfort of having about them the faithful ſervants to whoſe attentions they had been accuſtomed, the hardſhip of their ſituation was rendered ſtill greater by the abſolute want of furniture and articles they ſtood moſt in need of. By the pillage of the Palace, they were robbed of all their linen and clothes, except what they had on when they left it; and the ſmall quantity of linen they had was lent to them by ſome of their friends while they were at the Feuillans, and principally by the Counteſs of *Sutherland*, the lady of the Engliſh Ambaſſador. See *Clery*'s Journal, page 65 of the French edition, and page 71 of the Engliſh edition.

Meanwhile

Meanwhile the Aſſembly were attending to the reading of a manifeſto, deſigned to juſtify the Revolution and the crimes of the 10th of Auguſt in the eyes of France and of all Europe, and the Commiſſioners of the Commune, in company with thoſe of the Aſſembly, went to the houſe of M. *de la Porte*, the Comptroller of the Civil Liſt, whom they had ſent to priſon *for his ſafety*, and ſearched among his papers for proofs of the pretended crime of which the King was accuſed in this manifeſto. This paper, compoſed by *Condorcet*, with all the art of which that vile and wicked man was capable, is but a tiſſue of falſe and ſcandalous aſſertions, contradicted not only by the cleareſt facts, but by confeſſions afterwards made by the heads of the conſpiracy of the 10th of Auguſt, *Barbaroux*; *Briſſot*, *Cambon*, &c. who boaſted in the tribune *of having formed the plan, haſtened the execution of it, and of being the firſt to perceive that it was the only means of conſummating the annihilation of the Monarchy and of raiſing the Republic*; ſo that this manifeſto, far from juſtifying the Revolution of the 10th of Auguſt, far from ſullying in any manner the memory of *Louis* XVI.

XVI. can only be conſidered as the ſtrongeſt impeachment of the Aſſembly; and it is as ſuch I record it here, fully convinced that the impoſture of the charges which it contains againſt the King is too evident not to appear completely refuted by the facts that have been related in the preceding chapters.

" *Expoſition of the Motives on which the*
" *French National Aſſembly have pro-*
" *claimed the Convocation of a National*
" *Convention, and pronounced the Suſ-*
" *penſion of the Executive Power in the*
" *hands of the King.*

" The National Aſſembly owe to the na-
" tion, to Europe, and to poſterity, a rigo-
" rous account of the motives which have
" determined their late reſolutions.

" Placed between the duty of remaining
" faithful to their oaths, and that of ſaving
" their country, they wiſhed to fulfil both
" at the ſame time, and to do all that the
" public ſafety required, without uſurping
" the powers with which the people had
" not entruſted them.

" At the opening of their Seſſion, an
" aſſemblage of Emigrants, formed on the
" fron-

" frontiers, kept up a correſpondence with
" all the enemies of liberty that were ſtill
" to be found in the Departments, or
" among the troops of the line; and fana-
" tical prieſts, infuſing trouble into ſuper-
" ſtitious minds, ſought to perſuade thoſe
" deluded citizens that the Conſtitution
" wounded the rights of conſcience, and
" that the law had confided the functions of
" religion to ſchiſmatical and ſacrilegious
" perſons.

" Finally, a league formed among pow-
" erful Kings menaced the liberty of France;
" they fancied that they had a right to fix
" to what degree the intereſt of their deſ-
" potiſm permitted us to be free, and flat-
" tered themſelves that they ſhould ſee the
" ſovereignty of the people, and the inde-
" pendence of the French Empire, fall
" down before the arms of their ſlaves.

" Thus every thing announced a civil and
" religious war, of which a foreign war
" would ſoon increaſe the danger.

" The National Aſſembly thought it their
" duty to repreſs the Emigrants, and to re-
" ſtrain the factious prieſts by ſevere de-
" crees; and the King employed againſt
" theſe decrees the ſuſpenſive refuſal of
ſanction

" ſanction which the Conſtitution granted " him. In the mean time, thoſe Emigrants " and thoſe prieſts were buſily acting in the " name of the King; it was to re-eſtabliſh " him in what they called his lawful autho- " rity, that the former had taken up arms, " and the latter were preaching aſſaſſination " and treaſon. Theſe Emigrants were the " brothers of the King, his relations, his " former body guards. And while the " correſpondence of theſe facts with the " conduct of the King authorized, nay, en- " joined diſtruſt, this refuſal of the ſanction " applied to decrees that could not be ſuſ- " pended without being annihilated, ſhewed " clearly how the *Veto*, ſuſpenſive accord- " ing to the law, rendered definitive by the " manner of employing it, gave to the " King the unlimited and arbitrary power " of rendering null all the meaſures which " the Legiſlative Body might think neceſ- " ſary for maintaining liberty.

" From that moment, from one end of the " kingdom to the other, the people ſhewed " thoſe gloomy diſcontents that announced " ſtorms, and the ſuſpicions which accuſed " the Executive Power diſplayed themſelves " with energy.

" The National Aſſembly were not diſ-
" couraged. Princes who profeſſed them-
" ſelves the allies of France, had given the
" Emigrants not an aſylum, but the liberty
" of arming, of forming themſelves into
" military bodies, of levying ſoldiers, of
" providing warlike ſtores; and the King
" was invited, by a ſolemn meſſage, to
" break, on this violation of the rights of
" nations, a ſilence that had been kept but
" too long. He ſeemed to yield to the na-
" tional wiſh; preparations for war were
" ordered; but it was ſoon perceived that
" the negociations, conducted by a Miniſtry
" weak or treacherous, were confined to
" obtaining vain promiſes, which remaining
" unexecuted, could not be regarded but as
" a ſnare or an inſult. The league of Kings
" aſſumed in the mean time a new activity;
" and at the head of this league appeared
" the Emperor, brother-in-law to the King
" of the French, united to the nation by a
" treaty uſeful to himſelf alone, which the
" Conſtituent Aſſembly, deceived by the
" Miniſtry, had maintained, by ſacrificing,
" to preſerve the hope, at that time well
" founded, of an alliance with the Houſe
" of Brandenburgh.

" The

" The National Aſſembly thought that it " was neceſſary for the ſafety of France, to " oblige the Emperor to declare whether he " would be her ally or her enemy, and to " pronounce between two contradictory " treaties, of which the one bound him to " give ſuccours to France, and the other " engaged him to attack her; treaties which " he could not reconcile, without avowing " the intention of ſeparating the King from " the nation, and of repreſenting a war " againſt the French people, as ſuccours " granted to his ally. The Emperor's anſ- " ſwer augmented the diſtruſt which this " combination of circumſtances rendered ſo " natural. In it he repeated the abſurd " charges againſt the Aſſembly of the Re- " preſentatives of the French people, againſt " the popular ſocieties eſtabliſhed in our " cities, with which the partizans of the " French Miniſtry had long wearied the " Counter-revolution preſſes. He made " proteſtations of his deſire to continue the " ally of the King, and he had juſt ſigned " a new league againſt France in favour " of the authority of the King of the " French.

" Theſe leagues, theſe treaties, the in-

" trigues of the Emigrants, who had ſo-
" licited them in the name of the King,
" had been concealed by the Miniſters from
" the Repreſentatives of the people. No
" public diſavowal of theſe intrigues, no
" effort to prevent or diſſolve this conſpi-
" racy of Monarchs, had ſhewn either to
" the citizens of France or the nations of
" Europe, that the King had ſincerely
" united his own cauſe to that of the na-
" tion.

" This apparent connivance between the
" Cabinet of the Thuilleries and that of
" Vienna ſtruck every mind; the National
" Aſſembly thought it their duty to ex-
" amine with vigour the conduct of the
" Miniſter for Foreign Affairs; and a de-
" cree of impeachment was the reſult of this
" examination. His colleagues diſappeared
" with him, and the King's Council was
" formed of patriot Miniſters.

" The ſucceſſor of *Leopold* followed the
" courſe of his father. He thought proper
" to require for the Princes formerly poſ-
" ſeſſing fiefs in Alſace, indemnifications
" incompatible with the French Conſtitu-
" tion, and derogatory to the independence
" of the nation. He wanted France to be-

" tray

" tray the confidence and violate the rights " of the people of Avignon. At length he " announced other cauſes of complaint, " which could not, he ſaid, be diſcuſſed be- " fore the force of arms had been tried.

" The King ſeemed to feel that this pro- " vocation to war could not be borne pa- " tiently without betraying a ſhameful " weakneſs; he ſeemed to feel how per- " fidious was this language of an enemy " who pretended to take an intereſt in his " fate, and to deſire his alliance, for no " purpoſe but to ſow ſeeds of diſcord be- " tween him and his people, calculated to " enervate our forces, and to ſtop or diſ- " concert their motions; he propoſed war " by the unanimous advice of his Council, " and war was decreed.

" By protecting the aſſemblages of the " Emigrants, by permitting them to menace " our frontiers, by ſhowing troops in readi- " neſs to ſecond them on the firſt ſucceſs, by " preparing a retreat for them, by perſiſting " in a threatening league, the King of Hun- " gary obliged France to make preparations " of defence ruinous in their expence, ex- " hauſted her finances, encouraged the au- " dacity of the conſpirators diſperſed

" through the Departments, excited uneaſi-
" neſs among the citizens, and thus fo-
" mented in them and perpetuated trouble.
" Never did hoſtilities more really juſtify
" war, and to declare was only to repel it.

" The National Aſſembly were then able
" to judge to what degree, notwithſtanding
" promiſes ſo often repeated, all the pre-
" parations of defence had been neg-
" lected. Nevertheleſs their uneaſineſs,
" their diſtruſt, ſtill reſted on the former
" Miniſters, on the ſecret Council of the
" King; but they ſoon ſaw the patriotic
" Miniſters croſſed in their operations, at-
" tacked with rancour by the partizans of
" the Royal Authority, by thoſe who made
" a parade of perſonal attachment to the
" King.

" Our armies were tormented with po-
" litical diviſions: diſcord was ſown among
" the commanders of the troops, as be-
" tween the Generals and the Miniſtry. At-
" tempts were made to transform into the
" inſtruments of a party, which concealed
" not its deſire of ſubſtituting its will for
" that of the Repreſentatives of the na-
" tion, thoſe very armies that were deſtined
" to the external defence of the French ter-
" ritory,

" ritory, and to maintaining the National " independence.

" The machinations of the Prieſts be- " come more active in the moment of war, " made a reſtraining law indiſpenſable; one " was paſſed.

" The formation of a camp between Paris " and the frontiers was a diſpoſition happily " calculated for external defence, while at " the ſame time it ſerved to give ſecurity to " the internal Departments, and to prevent " the troubles which their diſquiets might " have produced; the formation of ſuch a " camp was ordered; but theſe two decrees " were rejected by the King, and the patriot " Miniſters were diſmiſſed.

" The Conſtitution had granted to the " King a guard of 1800 men, and this guard " audacioufly manifeſted a contempt of civil " duties, which inſpired the citizens with " indignation, or with terror; hatred of " the Conſtitution, and above all, of liberty " and equality, were the beſt titles for being " admitted into it.

" The Aſſembly was forced to diſſolve " this guard, to prevent both the troubles " which it could not fail ſoon to occaſion, " and the plots of Counter-revolution, of

" which but too many indications were al-
" ready manifeſt. The decree was ſanc-
" tioned; but a Proclamation by the King
" beſtowed praiſes on thoſe very men whoſe
" diſmiſſion from his ſervice he had juſt
" pronounced, on thoſe whom he had ad-
" mitted to be men juſtly accuſed of being
" the enemies of liberty.

" The new Miniſters excited well found-
" ed miſtruſt; and as this diſtruſt could not
" ſtop at them, it fell on the King himſelf.

" The application of the refuſal of the
" ſanction to the decrees rendered neceſſary
" by circumſtances, of which the execution
" ought to have been prompt, and to have
" ceaſed with the circumſtances which had
" rendered them neceſſary, was regarded, in
" the general opinion, as an interpretation
" of the Conſtitutional Act contrary to
" liberty, and even to the ſpirit of the Con-
" ſtitution. The agitation of the people of
" Paris became extreme; an immenſe
" crowd of citizens joined to form a peti-
" tion; in it they ſolicited the recal of the
" patriotic Miniſters, and the retraction of
" the refuſal to ſanction the decrees in fa-
" vour of which the public opinion had
" been loudly declared. They deſired leave

" to

" to paſs in arms before the National Aſſem-
" bly after their Deputies had read their pe-
" tition. This leave, which other armed bo-
" dies had before obtained, was granted them.
" They deſired to preſent the ſame petition to
" the King, and to preſent it under the forms
" eſtabliſhed by the law; but at the mo-
" ment when Municipal officers were
" coming to inform them that their Depu-
" ties, who had been refuſed at firſt, were
" going to be admitted, the gate was open-
" ed, and the crowd ruſhed into the Palace.
" The zeal of the Mayor of Paris, the aſ-
" cendency which his virtues and his pa-
" triotiſm gave him over the minds of the
" citizens, the preſence of the Repreſenta-
" tives of the people, of whom ſucceſſive
" deputations conſtantly ſurrounded the
" King, prevented all ſerious diſorders,
" and few aſſemblages ſo numerous ever
" gave occaſion to leſs diſorder of any
" kind.

" The King had mounted the enſigns of
" liberty; he had done juſtice to the citi-
" zens by declaring, that he thought him-
" ſelf in ſafety in the midſt of them; the
" day of the Federation was approaching;
" citizens from all the Departments were

" to

" to repair to Paris, there to ſwear to main-
" tain that liberty for which they were
" going to fight on the frontiers; and all
" might ſtill have been repaired. But the
" Miniſters ſaw nothing in the events of the
" 20th of June, but a favourable occaſion
" for ſowing diviſion between the inhabi-
" tants of Paris and thoſe of the Depart-
" ments; between the people and the army,
" between the ſeveral portions of the Na-
" tional Guard, between the citizens who
" remained at their homes and thoſe who
" were flying to the defence of the ſtate.
" The very next day the King changed his
" language; a proclamation full of calumny
" was profuſely diſtributed among the
" armies; one of their Generals came, in
" the name of that which he commanded,
" to demand vengeance, and to point out
" his victims. A conſiderable number of
" Directories of Department, by unconſti-
" tutional reſolutions, diſcloſed the plan
" they had long before formed, of raiſing
" themſelves into a ſort of immediate power
" between the people and their Repreſenta-
" tives, between the National Aſſembly
" and the King. Juſtices of the Peace
" commenced, in the very place of the
" Thuilleries

" Thuilleries, a dark procedure, in which
" it was hoped to involve thoſe patriots
" whoſe vigilance and whoſe talents were
" the moſt dreaded. Already one of theſe
" Juſtices had attempted to infringe upon
" the inviolability of the Repreſentatives of
" the people, and every thing announced a
" plan dexterouſly concerted for finding in
" the judicial order the means of giving an
" arbitrary extenſion to the Royal authority;
" letters from the Miniſter of the Home
" Department directed the employing of
" force againſt the Federates, who might
" wiſh to take at Paris the oath to fight for
" liberty; and it required all the activity
" of the National Aſſembly, all the pa-
" triotiſm of the army, all the zeal of the
" enlightened citizens, to prevent the fatal
" effects of this plan of diſorganization,
" which might have lighted up the flames
" of civil war. An emotion of patriotiſm
" had extinguiſhed, in fraternal union, the
" diviſions that had appeared but too often
" in the National Aſſembly, and from this
" alſo the means of ſafety might have
" ſprung: the proſecutions commenced by
" the King's order, at the inſtance of the
" Intendant of the Civil Liſt, might have
" been

" been ſtopped; the virtuous *Petion*, pu-
" niſhed, by an unjuſt ſuſpenſion, for having
" ſpared the blood of the people, might
" have been reinſtated by the King; and
" it was poſſible, that this long ſeries of
" faults and treaſons might have fallen again
" entirely upon thoſe perfidious counſellors
" to whom a confiding people had long been
" in the habit of attributing all the crimes
" of our Kings.

" The National Aſſembly then ſaw that
" the ſafety of the country required extra-
" ordinary meaſures.

" They opened a diſcuſſion on the means
" of ſaving their country; they inſtituted
" a commiſſion charged to conſider of and
" prepare a plan of theſe means.

" The declaration that the country was in
" danger called all the citizens to the com-
" mon defence, all perſons in public truſt
" to their poſts; and yet in the midſt of
" complaints unceaſingly repeated of the
" inaction of Government, on the neglect
" or ill management of the preparations for
" war, on the uſeleſs or dangerous motions
" of the armies, the avowed object of
" which was to favour the political plans of
" one of the Generals, Miniſters unknown

" or

" or ſuſpected were ſeen to ſucceed one " another rapidly, and to preſent, under " new names, the ſame inactivity and the " ſame principles.

" A declaration of the General of the " enemy, which doomed to death all free- " men, and promiſed to cowards and traitors " his diſgraceful protection, could not, but " add to theſe ſuſpicions. In it the enemy " of France ſeemed to attend to nothing " but the defence of the King of the French. " Twenty-ſix millions of men were nothing " in his eſtimation, in compariſon of a pri- " vileged family; their blood muſt wet the " earth to avenge the ſlighteſt inſult; and " the King, inſtead of expreſſing his indig- " nation againſt a manifeſto, intended to " take from him the confidence of the " people, ſeemed to oppoſe to it, and " that reluctantly, a cold and timid diſ- " avowal.

" Who then can be aſtoniſhed that diſ- " truſt in the ſupreme head of the Executive " Power ſhould inſpire citizens with the de- " ſire of no longer ſeeing the forces intended " for the common defence at the diſpoſition " of a King in whoſe name France was at- " tacked, and the care of maintaining her

" internal

" internal tranquillity confided to him
" whoſe intereſts were the pretexts of all her
" troubles? To theſe motives, common to
" all France, were joined others particular
" to the inhabitants of Paris. They ſaw
" the families of the conſpirators at Co-
" blentz forming the habitual ſociety of the
" King and his family. Writers paid by
" the Civil Liſt endeavoured by baſe calum-
" nies to render the Pariſians odious or ſuſ-
" pected in the eyes of the reſt of France.
" Attempts were made to ſow diviſion be-
" tween the poor citizens and the rich; the
" National Guard was agitated by perfidious
" manœuvres, in order to form in it a par-
" ty of Royaliſts. In fine, the enemies of
" liberty ſeemed to be divided between
" Paris and Coblentz, and their audacity in-
" creaſed with their number.

" The Conſtitution enjoined the King to give
" notice of imminent hoſtilities to the Na-
" tional Aſſembly; and yet long ſolicitations
" were neceſſary to obtain of the Miniſtry
" the tardy information of the march of the
" Pruſſian troops. The Conſtitution pro-
" nounced abdication againſt the King if he
" did not, by ſome formal act, declare his
" oppoſition to enterpriſes undertaken in
" his

" his name againſt the nation; and the Emi-
" grant Princes had opened public loans in
" the King's name, had hired foreign troops
" in his name, had levied French regiments
" in his name, had formed a military houſe-
" hold for him out of France; and theſe facts
" were known for more than ſix months
" before the King, whoſe public declararions,
" whoſe remonſtrances with foreign powers
" might have hindered the ſucceſs of theſe
" meaſures, had diſcharged the duty impoſed
" upon him by the Conſtitution.

" It was on motives thus powerful that
" numerous petitions, ſent from a great
" number of the Departments, the wiſh of
" ſeveral Sections of Paris, followed by the
" general expreſſion of the wiſh of the
" whole Commune, ſolicited the depoſition
" of the King, or the ſuſpenſion of the
" Royal Power and the National Aſſem-
" bly could no longer ſhrink from the ex-
" amination of this grand queſtion.

" It was their duty not to decide but
" after a mature and well-conſidered exami-
" nation, after a ſolemn diſcuſſion, after
" having heard and weighed all opinions.
" But the patience of the people was ex-
" hauſted; all at once they appeared united

" as

" as one man in the ſame will; they march-
" ed towards the place of the King's reſi-
" dence, and the King came to ſeek an
" aſylum in the Aſſembly of the Repre-
" ſentatives of the people, whoſe ſeat he
" knew that the fraternal union of the in-
" habitants of Paris with the citizens of
" the Departments, would always render
" an aſylum inviolable and ſacred.

" National Guards had been charged with
" defending the reſidence which the King
" had abandoned, but with them Swiſs ſol-
" diers were ſtationed. The people had
" long ſeen with painful ſurpriſe Swiſs bat-
" talions ſharing the guard of the King,
" although the Conſtitution did not allow
" him to have a foreign guard. It had long
" been eaſy to foreſee that this direct vio-
" lation of the law, which by its nature
" conſtantly obtruded itſelf on every eye,
" would, ſooner or later, occaſion great
" misfortunes. The National Aſſembly
" had neglected nothing to prevent them.
" Reports, diſcuſſions, motions made by
" individual Members and referred to Com-
" mittees, had appriſed the King ſeveral
" months before of the neceſſity of diſ-
" miſſing from about his perſon men, whom

" in

" whom every where elſe the French al-
" ways regarded as friends and brothers,
" but whom they could not ſee retained
" about a Conſtitutional King, in direct
" contradiction to the Conſtitution, with-
" out ſuſpecting that they had become
" the inſtruments of the enemies of their
" liberty.

" A decree had ordered their removal:
" their commander, ſupported by the Mi-
" niſtry, demanded changes in that decree:
" the National Aſſembly conſented to thoſe
" changes. A part of the ſoldiers was to
" remain near Paris, but without doing any
" duty that might renew diſquiets; and it
" was contrary to the ſenſe of the National
" Aſſembly, contrary to the law, that on
" the 10th of Auguſt they were employed
" on a ſervice, from which every motive
" of humanity and of prudence ought to
" have kept them away. They received
" orders to fire on the armed citizens, at
" the inſtant when the latter were inviting
" them to peace — when the unequivocal
" ſigns of fraternity announced that peace
" was going to be accepted—at the inſtant
" when a deputation of the National Aſ-
" ſembly was ſeen advancing in the midſt

" of arms, to ſpeak the words of peace " and conciliation, and prevent carnage. " Then nothing could ſtop the vengeance " of the people, who had thus received " proof of a new act of treachery, at the " very moment they were coming to com- " plain of thoſe of which they had long " been the victims.

" In the midſt of theſe diſaſters, the Na- " tional Aſſembly, afflicted, but calm, took " the oath to maintain equality and liberty, " or to die at their poſt; they took the oath " to ſave France, and they ſought for the " means.

" They ſaw but one, which was that of " recurring to the ſupreme will of the peo- " ple, and inviting them to exerciſe imme- " diately their inalienable right of ſove- " reignty, which the Conſtitution had re- " cogniſed, and which it could not ſubject " to any reſtriction. The public intereſt " required that the people ſhould manifeſt " their will by the ſenſe of a National Con- " vention, formed of Repreſentatives, in- " veſted by them with unlimited powers; " it required no leſs that the Members of " this Convention ſhould be elected in each Department in a uniform manner, and

" according

" according to a regular mode. But the " National Aſſembly could not reſtrain the " powers of the ſovereign people, from " whom alone the Members of that Aſſem- " bly hold all the powers they poſſeſs. They " were bound to confine themſelves to con- " juring the people, in the name of their " country, to follow the ſimple regulations " traced out for them. In theſe, the forms " inſtituted for elections were reſpected, " becauſe the eſtabliſhment of new forms, " even ſuppoſing them to have been better, " would have been a ſource of delay, per- " haps of diviſion. They preſerved in " them none of the conditions of eligibility, " none of the limitations of the right of " electing or being elected, eſtabliſhed by " the former laws, becauſe theſe laws, " which are ſo many reſtrictions on the " exerciſe of the right of ſovereignty, are " not applicable to a National Convention, " in which this right ought to be exer- " ciſed with complete independence. The " diſtinction of active citizens appears not " in theſe regulations, becauſe it is alſo a " reſtriction of the law. The only condi- " tions required are thoſe which nature " has preſcribed, ſuch as the neceſſity of

" being connected, by a fixed reſidence,
" with the territory for which the right of
" citizenſhip is exerciſed, of having at-
" tained the age at which men are held by
" the laws of the nation of which they make
" a part, to be in a condition to exerciſe their
" perſonal rights; finally, of having pre-
" ſerved abſolute independence of will.

" But to aſſemble new Repreſentatives of
" the people required time; and although
" the National Aſſembly have made as ſhort
" as poſſible the periods of the operations
" which the Convention made neceſſary;
" although they accelerated the period at
" which they muſt ceaſe to bear the burden
" of the public weal, in ſuch a manner as
" to avoid the leaſt ſuſpicion of ambitious
" views; the term of forty days would ſtill
" have expoſed the country to great miſ-
" fortunes, and the people to dangerous
" commotions, if to the King had been left
" the exerciſe of the powers conferred upon
" him by the Conſtitution; and the ſuſ-
" penſion of theſe powers appeared to the
" Repreſentatives of the people the only
" means of ſaving France and Liberty.

" In pronouncing this neceſſary ſuſpen-
" ſion the Aſſembly have not exceeded their

" powers,

" powers. The Conſtitution authorizes " them to pronounce it in the caſe of the " abſence of the King, when the term at " which this abſence incurs *a legal abdica-* " *tion* is not yet arrived, that is to ſay, in " the caſe in which there is not yet ground " for a definitive reſolution, but in which a " proviſional act of rigour is evidently ne- " ceſſary, in which it would be abſurd to " leave the power in hands that could no " longer make a free and beneficial uſe of " it. In the preſent inſtance, then, theſe " circumſtances are as evidently united as in " the caſe provided for by the Conſtitution, " and in conducting ourſelves by the prin- " ciple which the Conſtitution has pointed " out we have obeyed it—far from having " infringed it contrary to our oaths.

" The Conſtitution foreſaw, that all ac- " cumulation of powers was dangerous, and " might change into tyrants of the people, " thoſe who ought to be only their Repre- " ſentatives; but it judged alſo, that this " danger ſuppoſed a long exerciſe of this " extraordinary power, and the term of " two months is that which it has fixed for " all caſes in which it permits this union of

" powers, which in all other caſes it has ſo " rigorouſly proſcribed.

" The National Aſſembly, far from ex- " tending this term, has reduced it to " forty days only; and, far from exceeding " the period fixed by the law on the plea " of neceſſity, they have brought themſelves " within the narroweſt limits.

" When the power of ſanctioning the " laws is ſuſpended, the Conſtitution has " pronounced, that the decrees of the Le- " giſlative Body ſhall have of themſelves " the character and authority of laws; and " ſince he to whom the Conſtitution gave " the choice of Miniſters, could no longer " exerciſe his functions, it was neceſſary " that a new law ſhould put the choice into " other hands. The Aſſembly conferred " the right on themſelves, becauſe this " right could not be given but to electors " who belonged to the whole nation, and " becauſe they alone have that character at " preſent. But they were careful to avoid " giving ground for the ſuſpicion that, in " conferring this power on themſelves, " they ſought to gratify ambitious views; " they decreed, that the election ſhould be " made

" made openly, that each of them ſhould " pronounce his choice in preſence of the Na- " tional Repreſentation, in preſence of the " numerous citizens who attended their " Sittings. They took care that each of " their own body ſhould have his colleagues " for his judges, the public for a witneſs, " and ſhould anſwer for his choice to the " whole nation.

" Frenchmen, let us unite all our forces " againſt the foreign tyranny which dares " to threaten with its vengeance twenty-ſix " millions of free men. Within ſix weeks " a power, which every citizen acknow- " ledges, will pronounce on our diviſions. " Woe to the man who, liſtening, during " this ſhort interval, to ſelfiſh ſentiments, " ſhall not devote himſelf wholly to the " common defence; who ſhall not ſee, that " at the moment when the ſovereign will " of the people is about to ſpeak, we have " no enemies but the conſpirators of Pilnitz " and their accomplices!

" It is in the midſt of a foreign war, at " the moment when numerous armies are " preparing for a formidable invaſion, that " we call upon the citizens to diſcuſs in a " peaceable Aſſembly the rights of liberty.

" That which would have appeared raſh " among any other people, ſeemed to us " not above the courage and the patriotiſm " of the French; and undoubtedly we ſhall " not have the misfortune of finding our- " ſelves deceived in judging you worthy to " forget every other intereſt but that of li- " berty, and of ſacrificing every other ſenti- " ment to the love of our country.

" Citizens, it is for you to judge, whether " your repreſentatives have exerciſed for your " good the powers you have confided to " them, whether they have acted according " to your wiſhes in making a uſe of their " powers, which neither they nor you " could foreſee to be neceſſary. For us, " we have diſcharged our duty in ſeizing " with courage on the only means of pre- " ſerving liberty that occurred to our con- " ſideration. Ready to die for it, at the " poſt in which you have placed us, we ſhall " carry with us at leaſt, on quitting that " poſt, the conſolation of having main- " tained it faithfully.

" Whatever judgment our contemporaries " or poſterity may paſs upon us, we ſhall " not have to dread that of our own con- " ſciences; to whatever danger we may be expoſed,

" expoſed, the happineſs will remain to us " of having ſpared the torrents of French " blood, which a conduct more weak " would have cauſed to flow; nor ſhall we " have to reproach ourſelves with having " ſeen a means of ſaving our country, and " not having dared to embrace it.

(*Signed*)

" GUADET, *Preſident*
" GOUJON,
" G. ROMME,
" MARANS,
" CRESTIN,
" ARENA,
" LE COINTE PUIRAVAUX,
" *Secretaries.*"

CHAP-

CHAPTER XXX.

The Manifeſto ſent to the Departments and the Armies—Manœuvres in favour of the Revolution of the 10*th of Auguſt—The Jacobins adopt Brutus for their Patron—They ſwear to extirpate Royalty from the Earth—The Aſſembly decree that Electors of the National Convention ſhall be paid for their Expences and for their Time—Means taken to corrupt the Army—Order iſſued by General Dillon on firſt hearing of the Events of the* 10*th of Auguſt—Dumourier's Conduct on that Occaſion—The other Generals follow his Example, except M. de la Fayette—*

That

That General's Addreſs to the Municipality of Sedan and to his Army—The Army enraged at the Outrages of the 10th of Auguſt—The Commiſſioners from the Aſſembly arreſted at Sedan—Arts to gain over the Soldiers ſucceſsful—M. de la Fayette, with other Officers, quit the Kingdom—Taken by the Limburg Volunteers—Their Declaration—The Command of the Army given to Dumourier—Proceedings of the Aſſembly—Deſpotiſm of the Commune—Robeſpierre's Revolutionary Tribunal eſtabliſhed—Note dated Nov. 11, 1791, ſaid to be found in the King's Chamber—Funeral Celebration propoſed—M. de Montmorin's Retreat diſcovered—Proceedings relative to him—He is ſent to the Abbaye—M. de la Porte ſentenced to Death by the Revolutionary Tribunal—Execution of Duroſoi.

AMONG the great political convulſions that at various periods have agitated Empires, and produced in the forms of their Governments the ſudden and violent changes called *Revolutions*, thoſe that have been experi-

experienced by France ſince the year 1789, will principally fix the attention of Hiſtorians. It will be obſerved that the Revolution which they have produced differs from all others, not only in eſſential character, and as exceeding every other in atrocities, but alſo becauſe none ever was ſo general or ſo complete. The faithful page of Hiſtory will, in the firſt place, diſplay the ambitious and imprudent pretenſions of Foreign Courts, and the jealouſy and avidity of the intriguers of the Court at home, giving the firſt blows to the Royal Authority, by raiſing againſt the pretended Miniſterial deſpotiſm that general murmur which ſoon became the ſhout of rebellion, and the pretext for the inſurrections of the month of July 1789, which completely annihilated the authority of the Miniſters, and conſequently that of the King. It will then trace the different Orders of the State, ſucceſſively attacking, by freſh inſurrections always excited by the claſs immediately inferior to that which had juſt triumphed, and the fatal ſtruggle continued till all the ranks of ſociety were abſolutely levelled, and till the ſupreme power, ſeparated from the Throne, was, by one dreadful event after another, forcibly acquired by the

the loweſt claſs of the people, armed and rallied by the name of equality. It is a certain fact, that the new Commune of Paris, who had made themſelves maſters of all the powers, were compoſed of the moſt violent patriots, and that among them were ſhoemakers, players, clerks out of place, &c.

The Aſſembly, aſhamed of being reduced to the office of mechanically paſſing decrees dictated by the Commiſſioners of the Commune, determined to throw off that ſtate of nullity, and to endeavour to regain their power, or at leaſt to ſhare it with thoſe who had uſurped it. They ſaw no other means than that of boldly aſſuming the crimes of the Commune as their own, and glorying in them. This was the chief object of the Manifeſto compoſed by *Condorcet*. They ſent it off in great haſte to all the Departments, and to the armies, to induce them to approve the outrages of the 10th of Auguſt, and the abandonment of the Conſtitution. Commiſſioners, choſen from among themſelves, and from among the Members of the new Commune, were charged with this important miſſion, which was principally meant to confirm, by their teſtimony, the groſſeſt calumnies ſpread againſt the King,

King; to ſupport their impoſtures by diſtributing, in thouſands, collections, printed on open ſheets of the papers pretended to be found in his Majeſty's eſcritoire, and at the houſes of the Comptroller of the Civil Liſt and of the Miniſters, and commented upon with the moſt atrocious perfidy in the Addreſs which accompanied them*. The Journaliſts in pay contributed with all their power to the ſucceſs of this manœuvre, by inſerting in their prints the ſame papers, mutilated and explained in ſuch a manner, as to convert every expreſſion into a proof of ſome *grand plot againſt the nation.*

Theſe itinerant Commiſſioners were alſo charged to proclaim, wherever they went, the political equality conſecrated by the Revolution of the 10th of Auguſt, by virtue of which the citizens of every claſs, particularly *the pure ſans-culottes*, might aſpire not only to a concurrent admiſſion to all offices, but to a preference; and the leſs ambitious, to an equal ſhare of all property.

The new Miniſters loſt no time in juſtifying the confidence of the Aſſembly, by writing, in an addreſs to their agents and

* See Appendix, No. XXXI.

the

the Conſtituted Authorities, a defence of the Revolution of the 10th of Auguſt, and of the inſtructions * on the manner in which they were to conduct themſelves in the new order of things, juſt opened under the auſpices of equality †. The moſt remarkable of theſe official papers was the addreſs of *Rolland*, now Miniſter of the Interior, to the Adminiſtrative Bodies ‡. This fooliſh old man, who fully believed that he poſſeſſed all the Republican virtues, becauſe he abhorred Kings and the Monarchical form of Government, becauſe he affected the coarſeſt ſimplicity in his dreſs and in his manner of wearing his hair, and becauſe he was neither thief nor aſſaſſin, was, in ſpite of all his wife's ingenuity and caballing, nothing more than an enthuſiaſtic fanatic of the Revolution, and a Miniſter without means. Recalled with acclamation to the Miniſtry, through the intrigues of the Gironde party, finding himſelf again with his old colleagues, *Claviere* and *Servan*, pro-

* Appendix, No. XXXII.

† The Directories of Departments who were warmeſt in their diſapprobation of the 20th of June, were ſuſpended from their functions by the Miniſter *Rolland*.

‡ Appendix, No. XXXIII.

tected,

tected, as they were, by the majority of the Aſſembly, and ſupported by *Petion* and *Manuel* in the Municipality, he had it in his power to play the chief part in the Revolutionary Executive Council; and had he been capable of it, none of the other Miniſters would have diſputed it with him: but he, as well as they, ſunk into nothing under the ſavage energy of *Danton*, one of whoſe looks was enough to make them all tremble, and to enſure the ſucceſs of his opinion.

The Reſolutions of the Jacobin Club became alſo more violent than ever; and it was in the ſtate of things we have been juſt contemplating, that they formally adopted *Brutus* for their patron. On the day on which the buſt of that auſtere Republican was carried to the Hall of the Club, *Manuel* moved the inauguration of it in the following terms: "It is here that we are to pre-" pare the fall of Kings, the fall of *Louis* " *the Laſt*; here then ſhould be placed the " image of that great man, who firſt mani-" feſted the deſire of clearing the earth of " Kings. Think that if a Brutus ſhould " be found in the National Convention, " France muſt be ſaved, as ſhe will no " longer have Kings. We ought all then

" to

" to ſwear it, and I will be the firſt, for I " ſwear before God and my country, that " in whatever poſt I am placed, all my " efforts ſhall be bent on the important " object of clearing the earth of that peſt " called Royalty." This oath was taken with rapture by the whole Club, and it was reſolved that it ſhould be taken by all the affiliated Clubs.

Theſe proceedings were powerfully ſupported by the terror inſpired by the Marſeillois, who were ſuppoſed to be retained at Paris only to be ſent into the firſt Departments that ſhould appear refractory. Liſts upon liſts were alſo made at this time of *patriots*, of *doubtful citizens*, and of *ſuſpected citizens*. The dread of appearing on the fatal liſt reduced the boldeſt to ſilence, and greatly increaſed emigration. Pecuniary means were not neglected: none could be more calculated to obtain the approbation of the multitude for the convocation of a National Convention, than that of paying the Electors well; and the Aſſembly had accordingly decreed, that thoſe who ſhould be obliged to go from home ſhould receive as an indemnity twenty ſols for every league, and three livres a day. This was inviting

all the brigands of the kingdom to the elections, and conſequently keeping away men of property, heads of families, and the worthy of every claſs; and by this too was gained the double object of ſecuring a majority of votes in the Primary Aſſemblies in favour of the Revolution of the 10th of Auguſt, and of filling the National Convention with wretches ſufficiently hardened to dare to try and to condemn the King. Theſe combined manœuvres produced all the effect the factious foreſaw. No Department, no Municipality dared to make the ſlighteſt remonſtrance againſt the outrages of the 10th of Auguſt, and a profuſion of addreſſes were ſent to the Aſſembly, complimenting them on the wiſdom and energy which they had diſplayed on this occaſion.

It was far from being ſo eaſy to ſecure the army; and the Aſſembly were extremely uneaſy as to the effect that the news of the King's ſuſpenſion might produce on it. Terror could not be employed as a means with ſoldiers; the generals and officers were almoſt all attached to the Conſtitutional party. M. *de la Fayette*, who was ſtill the hero of it, might with more vigour recur to the meaſures which a few weeks before

fore had manifeſted his unalterable attachment to the Conſtitution. It was known, that after the inſurrection of the 20th of June, which was confined to inſulting the King, he could have marched to Paris at the head of his army; and it was probable that his troops would be ſtill more diſpoſed to follow him, ſhould he propoſe to them to puniſh the moſt ſerious crime that could be committed againſt the King and againſt the Conſtitution. This was what the Aſſembly had moſt to dread, notwithſtanding all the modes of ſeduction and diſorganization that they had put in practice ſince the 20th of June, to weaken the influence of the generals over their armies, and to extinguiſh the zeal and Conſtitutional ſpirit which the officers exerted themſelves to keep up among them. Incendiary pamphlets, profuſely diſperſed among the ſoldiers, had been preparing them for the Revolution of the 10th of Auguſt; and the Aſſembly loſt no time in making it their intereſt to ſupport it, by declaring the very next day, that for the future the officers ſhould be appointed by the ſoldiers*

* The Miniſter *Servan* obtained a repeal of this decree, againſt which the ſoldiers themſelves proteſted.

M. *de la Fayette*, Commander in Chief of the army of the North, had juſt unſucceſsfully attempted, in concert with General *Luckner*, the invaſion of Brabant, and they had both afterwards precipitately marched to thoſe points of the frontiers that were threatened by the Duke of *Brunſwick*. M. *de la Fayette* went to Sedan to put himſelf at the head of that part of his army called the army of Ardennes, and the command of the army of Flanders was given to General *Arthur Dillon*, under whom were *Dumourier* and *Beurnonville*. This army, the diviſions of which were at Maubeuge, Pont-ſur-Sambre, and the camp of Maulde, ſcarcely amounted to twenty thouſand effective men.

As ſoon as General *Dillon* was informed of the events of the 10th of Auguſt, he iſſued the following order in his camp, dated the 13th:

"Great and diſaſtrous events have taken "place in Paris. General *Arthur Dillon*, "Commander in Chief on the Northern "frontier, cannot communicate them to the "army before he receives information offi- "cially, or in an authentic manner; but it "is ſaid that the Conſtitution has been vio- "lated:

" lated: whoever they are that have perjured
" themſelves, they are the enemies of
" French liberty. The General takes this
" perilous occaſion to renew his oath of
" ſhedding his blood to the laſt drop in
" ſupport of the integrity of the Conſtitu-
" tion of the kingdom, decreed by the
" Conſtituent National Aſſembly in the
" years 1789, 1790, and 1791, and to be
" in every reſpect faithful to the nation,
" the law, and the King."

This was all that could be expected at that moment of a Conſtitutional General, ſincerely attached to the King; and certainly General *Dillon* was in that claſs. Unfortunately he found his army, and the General Officers under his command, little diſpoſed to ſupport his opinion. *Dumourier*, who at the bottom was not more a Republican than a Conſtitutionaliſt or a Royaliſt, and who never adopted any principle, opinion, or reſolution, but ſuch as his inordinate ambition ſuggeſted, had very ſoon concluded, that independently of the riſks he ſhould run by joining the Conſtitutional party, at a moment when the Aſſembly, the Jacobins, and the populace, were againſt the Conſtitution, he ſhould at moſt play but third

to Generals *La Fayette* and *Dillon*, to whom he thought himſelf, with ſome degree of reaſon, very ſuperior in military talents; whereas by being the firſt to declare himſelf in favour of the 10th of Auguſt, and by leading the troops, by his example, to devote themſelves to the faction who had triumphed, he was almoſt ſure not only of rendering all the efforts of the Conſtitutional Generals abortive, but alſo of obtaining the choice of the chief command of one of the grand armies; he therefore did not heſitate to give the moſt honourable welcome to the Commiſſioners of the Aſſembly, and to take the new oath they propoſed to him*. *Luckner*

* On this occaſion he wrote the following letter, dated Auguſt 14, to his friend *Genſonné*: "*Dillon* has "juſt ruined himſelf by a declaration of Royaliſm, "which he has publiſhed in the orders at his camp near "Pont-ſur-Sambre, and which he directed me to inſert "in mine: I have diſobeyed him poſitively, and have "tranſmitted theſe papers to the Commiſſioners of the "Aſſembly, who are juſt arrived in the army, and "whom I expect to-morrow in the camp. I hope at "length to be able to render important ſervices to the "cauſe of the ſovereignty and liberty of the French "people. I will exert myſelf to the utmoſt of my "power for this, as well as to reſtore the Belgic "liberty."

ner ſwore whatever he was deſired. This example was followed by moſt of the Generals,

" liberty." His correſpondence with the Aſſembly is equally remarkable, as appears by the following papers:

" *Camp of Maulde, Auguſt* 14, 1792,
" *of Liberty, Year* 4*th.*

" Mr. Preſident,

" I have the honour of ſending to you and to the " Miniſter of War, copies of my letter to General " *Arthur Dillon.* The ſtate of things is too important " to admit of evaſions and cautions. The ſovereign " nation ought to be aſſured of our principles, opi- " nions, obedience, and zeal in carrying on the war " with vigour.

" I beg, Mr. Preſident, that you will aſſure the " National Aſſembly that it is my determination to die " glorioufly at my poſt, or by victories and firm fidelity " concur in ſaving the country."

" *Extract of the Letter written to General* Arthur Dillon
" *by Lieut. General* Dumourier.

" In ſeveral of your letters, my dear General, you " call upon my loyalty. The difficult and painful cir- " cumſtances in which we are placed, the neceſſity of " acting together, and on the ſame principles, to extri- " cate ourſelves, the ſafety of the country, the obedi- " ence we owe to the ſovereign, that is, the French " people, the neceſſity of juſtifying the confidence " placed in us by the appointment to the command of

rals, and even by M. *de Monteſquiou*, who a few weeks before had affirmed, that if the King's depoſition were decreed, there would not remain either an officer or a ſoldier in the army *.

M. *de*

" this frontier, all theſe motives uniting with the " warmth of my patriotiſm, really oblige me to be " free and open with you.

" It is time to unite all your means; you can no " longer divide them without injuring the public weal, " and giving grounds for a ſuſpicion that your plan of " dividing is ſimilar to *La Fayette*'s odd cantons, and " but the execution of a plan of inaction, which, by " rendering you weaker every where, affords the Auſ- " trians the opportunity of chooſing their point of at- " tack, and of enſuring it ſucceſs.

" To theſe diſpoſitions of our armies, whether trea- " cherous or unſkilful, added to the plots of the ene- " mies of our liberty, is owing the terrible criſis of " the 10th of Auguſt, which was to be expected from " a nation, deceived, betrayed, and provoked to ex- " tremities.

" Once thoroughly aſſured of your opinion, and very " certain of making a campaign with you uſeful to " the country, and probably glorious, you may depend " upon me for loyalty and faithful aſſiſtance."

The Aſſembly, enraptured with theſe letters, ordered them to be printed and ſent to the 83 Departments, and charged the Preſident to write a letter to *Dumourier*, expreſſing their ſatisfaction.

* The Count *d'Harambure*, inſtead of uſing the new form, openly repeated his oath of fidelity *to the nation*, " *the*

M. *de la Fayette* was the only one of all the Generals who dared to attempt realizing in his army what M. *de Monteſquiou* had aſſerted; but unfortunately it was no longer time; and what he might have done after the outrages of the 20th of June, he had no power to accompliſh after thoſe of the 10th of Auguſt: ſo true is it that the greateſt fault that can be committed by the head of a party in a Revolution, is that of delaying to take advantage of an important ſucceſs when he is ſure of it, and by that delay leaving it to all the hazards of the future. It was very juſtly ſaid by the Cardinal *de Retz*, that "there is nothing "in the world but what has its deciſive "moment; and it is the perfection of con-"duct to know and to ſeize that moment: "he that miſſes it, and particularly in the "revolutions of States, runs the hazard of not "meeting with it again, or of not perceiving "it." But if M. *de la Fayette* has more than once given occaſion for this cenſure, at leaſt he does not deſerve that of not having

"*the law, and the King.* The Commiſſioners laughed at the miſtake, and the Aſſembly aſcribed it to the ſimplicity or dotage of the old General.

done

done on this occaſion all in his power to cruſh the Revolution of the 10th of Auguſt; and the more preciſe I have been in expoſing the faults of this Conſtitutional General, the more incumbent is it upon me to be ſo too in relating thoſe parts of his conduct which redound to his honour.

M. *de la Fayette* was no ſooner informed of what had paſſed at Paris, than he aſſembled the Adminiſtrative Bodies of the Department of Ardennes, conferred with them, and prevailed upon them to reſolve, on his demand and on his reſponſibility, to arreſt the Commiſſioners coming from the Aſſembly; and in conſequence addreſſed the following letter to the Municipality of Sedan on the 13th of Auguſt.

" Commiſſioners are coming from the " National Aſſembly to preach an unconſti- " tutional doctrine to the army. It is evi- " dent to every candid man, that on the " 10th of Auguſt, the period of the King's " ſuſpenſion, the National Aſſembly acted " under compulſion, and that the Members " who have accepted this miſſion can only " be the leaders or the inſtruments of the " faction, who have thus enſlaved the Na- " tional Aſſembly and the King.

" I re-

" I require of the Municipality of Sedan, " according to the law reſpecting war, and " on my ſole and perſonal reſponſibility, to " detain the perſons calling themſelves " Commiſſioners of the National Aſſembly, " and to put them in a place of ſafety, un- " der the guard of a ſuperior officer, who " alſo, on my ſole and perſonal reſponſi- " bility, ſhall execute this order; which he " cannot refuſe to obey, without being " immediately brought to a court martial.

" I have alſo to call upon the Conſtituted " Authorities of the Department, in virtue " of the ſame laws, to approve theſe mea- " ſures; and I ſhall addreſs the ſame de- " mand to the Court of Juſtice of the Diſ- " trict of Sedan, and to the different De- " partments in which the troops I command " are ſtationed.

" This letter being lodged at the Munici- " pality, will ſerve as a voucher, to ſhow that " neither the Commune of Sedan, nor the " National guard placed by the law under my " command, nor the army, whether volun- " teers or troops of the line, and particularly " M. *Sicard*, Colonel of the 43d Regiment, " whom I intend for this duty, nor the " Adminiſtrative and Judicial Bodies who

" may

" may concur in the arreſt of the Commiſ-
" ſioners, are ſubject to any reſponſibility;
" and that it is I, who faithful to my oaths,
" to the principles of the Declaration of
" Rights, to the Conſtitution decreed by
" the ſovereign will of the nation, that it is
" I alone who require, as I have a right to
" do, all ſuch meaſures as conſtitute reſiſt-
" ance to oppreſſion, the firſt duty of free
" ſouls."

Signed, " LA FAYETTE."

At the ſame time a great number of the copies of an addreſs to the battalions of the line and of the National guards was ſpread through the camp, where it produced a good effect. It was as follows:

" Citizen ſoldiers! The Conſtitution
" which you ſwore to maintain, no longer
" exiſts. The Marſeillois and a troop of
" ſeditious people have attacked the Palace
" of the Thuilleries: the National and
" Swiſs guards made a vigorous reſiſtance,
" but their ammunition failing, they were
" obliged to ſurrender. The Swiſs have
" been maſſacred. The King, Queen, and
" all the Royal Family fled to the National
" Aſſembly, whom the ſeditious, preſent-
" ing

" ing themſelves with fire and ſword, have " compelled to decree the ſuſpenſion of the " King; and this the Aſſembly have done " to ſave his life. Citizens, you have no " longer any Repreſentatives; the National " Aſſembly are enſlaved; your armies have " loſt their chief, *Petion* reigns; the ſavage " *Danton* and his ſatellites are maſters. " Now, ſoldiers, chooſe: do you wiſh to " re-eſtabliſh the inheritor of the Crown " upon the Throne, or will you have *Petion* " for King *."

The whole army appeared extremely exaſperated at theſe outrages: and if at that moment, which it was ſo important to have ſeized, M. *de la Fayette* had ſhown himſelf at the head of his troops, and made one of thoſe magnanimous ſpeeches with which a ſkilful General, poſſeſſed of the confidence of his ſoldiers, is always ſure to lead them after him, it is more than probable that he would have determined his army to march immediately to deliver the King and National Aſſembly. A few ſimple precautions might

* Theſe particulars were officially confirmed in the orders given by M. *de la Fayette* on the ſame day. See Appendix, No. XXXIV.

have

have enſured the ſucceſs of this vigorous determination, which, beſides, whatever had been its iſſue, would have loaded M. *de la Fayette* with glory. Certainly neither *Luckner* nor *Dillon* would have heſitated to follow his example, had he deſired it of them; and *Dumourier* himſelf, on hearing that all theſe forces were marching to Paris, and receiving an order to join them, on pain of being immediately brought to a Court-martial, would have been influenced even by his ambition to obey. The Duke of *Brunſwick*, informed by M. *de la Fayette* of the reaſons for his departure, would have conſented, without the leaſt difficulty, to ſuſpend all hoſtility till his return; and proper ſteps being taken to cut off all communication with Paris, which might eaſily have been done, the armies would have arrived there in a fortnight at fartheſt without being expected: in a few hours the rebels, the Jacobins, the factious, would have been all reduced or exterminated, and the King reeſtabliſhed on his Throne, with all the pleaſing conſequences which it may be imagined would have flowed from ſuch an event. This is what M. *de la Fayette* might have

have attempted *conſtitutionally*: now let us ſee what he did do.

The Commiſſioners of the Aſſembly, three in number, arrived at Sedan on the 14th of Auguſt, accompanied by their Secretary. They were directly conducted to the Common Hall, where, after interrogating them, and examining their powers and paſſports, the Municipality entered into the following reſolution: "The Municipality, conſidering that at the time when "the ſaid Powers were conferred, the National Aſſembly, beſet by the horde of "factious perſons who filled the Capital "with blood and carnage, could not have "acted at liberty, and that it could only "have been to avoid greater crimes that "they conſented to the decree for ſuſpending the King, a decree which violated "the Conſtitution in the moſt outrageous "manner—a decree, or rather monſtrous "act, which they muſt feel it their duty to "revoke the moment that their oppreſſors "ſhall leave them free; conſidering that "all acts paſſed by them, or that ſhall be "paſſed by them while under the influence "of the aſſaſſin's knife, muſt in like manner be deemed null; conſidering that if "the

" the pretended Commiſſioners were Depu-
" ties, as they call themſelves, they would
" not have accepted a miſſion deſtructive
" to the Conſtitution, and of which the
" object was to deceive the people, excite
" mutiny in the army, and remove from it
" the excellent Generals who command
" it, that of courſe they can only be re-
" garded as emiſſaries of the faction who
" have uſurped the powers expreſsly dele-
" gated by the National ſovereignty; con-
" ſidering, laſtly, that the King and his
" auguſt family, as well as all the Deputies
" faithful to their duty, are ſtill in the
" power of the factious, RESOLVE that the
" pretended Commiſſioners ſhall be put
" proviſionally under arreſt, with a good
" and ſure guard, and ſhall in that ſtate re-
" main as hoſtages, until it ſhall appear
" evident that the National Aſſembly and
" the King are free, and have nothing more
" to fear from their oppreſſors."

The very next day the army, whoſe anger had been allowed to cool, appeared diſſatisfied at the Commiſſioners being arreſted; and tumultuous groups, chiefly compoſed of the Members of the Club of Sedan, gathered about the houſe in which they were confined.

confined. A report was ſpread that *Dumourier*, after taking the new oath, and adminiſtering it to his army, had gone to Valenciennes to concert with the Commiſſioners who had been ſent thither, on marching to deliver their colleagues: he was imagined already in ſight at the head of his army. This was enough to ſtrike terror through that of M. *de la Fayette*; the regiments all refuſed to renew their former oath of fidelity to the nation, the law, and the King, in ſpite of every thing that *Alexander de Lameth* could urge or promiſe to induce them to do it. M. *de la Fayette* finding that he was deſerted, and deprived of every means of ſaving the Conſtitution, now only thought of ſaving himſelf and his friends. He quitted the kingdom by the foreſt of Bouillon, in the evening of the 19th of Auguſt, accompanied by M. M. *Bureau de Puzy*, *Alexander Lameth*, *La Tour Maubourg*, their Aid-de-camps, and his own, to the number of nineteen, leaving the following letter for the Municipal Officers of Sedan:

" Gentlemen, if the laſt drop of my " blood could be of ſervice to the Com- " mune of Sedan, they have a right to the

" ſacrifice of it, and it would be leſs pain-
" ful to me than that I am making:
" but when I foreſee, for reaſons which
" cannot eſcape you, that my being with
" you would in a few days ſerve only to
" involve you, it is incumbent upon me to
" avert from the town of Sedan misfortunes
" of which I ſhould be the cauſe; and I
" think the beſt ſervice I can render it, is
" to remove a head which all the enemies
" of liberty have proſcribed, which ſhall
" never bend beneath any deſpotiſm, and
" which, oppreſſed with grief at no longer
" having the power for the preſent of being
" uſeful to its country, finds no conſolation
" but in praying that the ſacred cauſe of
" liberty and equality, whoſe ſacred names
" profaned, if that can be, by the crimes of
" a faction, may not long at leaſt remain
" ſubjected; and in repeating his oath to a
" Commune truly patriotic, of being faith-
" ful to the principles which have animated
" his whole life."

The errors in the ſtyle of this letter proved the hurry in which it was written. Hence the friends of M. *de la Fayette* have argued to juſtify him for having made no mention in it of the ſhocking ſituation of the

the Royal Family, at which he ought to have been more affected than at the dangers of that liberty and chimerical equality which, in ſpite of the Conſtitution, had in France, till the Revolution of the 10th of Auguſt, been nothing more than words without meaning, uſed as the rallying cry of the Republican incendiaries and regicides.

The flying Generals and Officers had ſcarcely paſſed the frontiers, when they met a detachment of Limburg Volunteers. Count *d'Harnoncourt,* who had the command of it, ſeeing the National cockade in the hats of thoſe Gentlemen, ordered them to be ſtopped. They ſuffered themſelves to be diſarmed without the leaſt reſiſtance. M. *de la Fayette,* on being queſtioned as to his deſigns, anſwered, that it was his intention to paſs behind the Auſtrian army, in order to proceed to Maeſtricht, and thence to Holland and England, where he ſhould embark for America. Count *d'Harnoncourt* made them take the National cockades out of their hats, and ſent M. M. *de la Fayette, Bureau de Puzy, Latour Maubourg,* and *Alexander Lameth* to Luxemburg; where they were put into priſon. They were afterwards removed, firſt to Weſel, then to Magdeburg, and laſtly

to Olmutz. The inferior officers who were with them not having been, as they had, Members of the Firſt Aſſembly, were ſet at liberty.

M. *de la Fayette* and his three Conſtitutional companions were no ſooner taken, than they were impolitic enough to remonſtrate againſt their detention, in a declaration which could not but injure them with the Powers at whoſe mercy they were. This declaration was another act of affection not only for the Conſtitution, but for the Revolution; it was drawn up in theſe words:

" The underſigned *French citizens* torn, " by an imperious concurrence of extraor- " dinary circumſtances, from the happineſs " of promoting, as they have never failed " to do, *the liberty of their country*; be- " ing no longer able to reſiſt the violations " of the Conſtitution which *the national* " *will* had eſtabliſhed in it, declare that " they cannot be conſidered as military ene- " mies, having renounced their commiſſions " in the French army; and ſtill leſs as " belonging to that claſs of their country- " men whom intereſts, ſentiments, and opi- " nions directly contrary to theirs, have " induced to connect themſelves with the

" Powers

" Powers at war with France; but as " ſtrangers demanding a free paſſage, to " which they are entitled by the law of " nations, and of which they wiſh to profit, " to go with all due ſpeed to a country, the " government of which is not at preſent at " war with France."

Although this declaration could not but leſſen the merit, already little enough, of the reſiſtance which theſe officers had endeavoured to make againſt the Revolution of the 10th of Auguſt, it has been ſaid that their detention, which in ſome reſpects might be juſt, was both irregular and impolitic. This queſtion is of no moment now that thoſe citizens, after obtaining their liberty, and being conſidered as victims of the deſpotiſm of the Foreign Powers, are known to have experienced fewer obſtacles to their return to France, and admiſſion to their property, than the far more intereſting victims of the deſpotiſm of *Robeſpierre!* I ſhall only obſerve, that at a time when it was more material than ever to unite the Conſtitutionaliſts with the Royaliſts againſt the Republican party, it is poſſible that the example of M. *de la Fayette*'s being unpuniſhed when he was guilty, and puniſhed when his

conduct merited ſome praiſe, may have been more prejudicial than uſeful*.

While theſe ſcenes were paſſing at Sedan and on the frontier, the Aſſembly being informed of the defection of M. *de la Fayette* took from him the command of the army of the North and beſtowed it upon *Dumourier*, as a reward for his fidelity, or rather for his perjury†. General *Dillon* was at the ſame time puniſhed for his Conſtitutional ſcruples by the mortification of ſerving under the man whom, two days before, he commanded; and his head, which was much worſe than his heart, was ſo bewildered, that he ſubmitted to the diſgrace of ſerving, in the rank of Lieutenant-General, which the King had juſt conferred upon him, the execrable faction, who, after having long made *Louis* XVI. ſuffer the moſt ſhocking outrages, had at laſt dethroned him, and ſent him and all his family to a priſon.

* A decree for his impeachment was paſſed on the 19th of Auguſt.

† See the letter of thanks written by *Dumourier* to the Aſſembly, Appendix, No. XXXV.

The

The Commiſſioners arreſted at Sedan were ſet at liberty ſoon after M. *de la Fayette* went away, and his army took the new oath without the ſlighteſt objection. The Aſſembly's fears as to the fidelity of the ſoldiers being thus removed, they empowered their Commiſſioners to direct in concert with the Generals, and particularly with *Dumouriez*, the motions of the different armies, while they themſelves, terrified and enſlaved by the criminal inſtigators of the horrors of the 10th of Auguſt, favoured or partook in new crimes to cement the power of both. They decreed the abolition of all clerical and monaſtic dreſſes; the letting upon leaſe for rent the eſtates of the Emigrants, divided into ſmall portions of two, three, and four acres, that the poor might be able to enter upon them without paying money down; and many ſimilar acts. They were every inſtant worried, and often abuſed, by the deputations of the Commune, who almoſt always required that the decrees which they were charged to demand ſhould be immediately paſſed. I will adduce a ſingle inſtance, to give an idea of the tone aſſumed by this Commune towards the Aſſembly. It had been decreed, that the Swiſs who had eſ-

caped the maſſacres of the 10th of Auguſt ſhould be tried by a Court-Martial. The Brigands and Federates, ſtill thirſting for blood, called loudly for the trial, or rather execution of thoſe brave ſoldiers. The demand was laid before the Aſſembly by two different deputations of the Commune in the ſame morning: the ſpeaker of the ſecond expreſſed himſelf in theſe terms: "The "Council-General have deputed us to de- "mand of you the decree for the Court- "Martial; if it is not yet paſſed, we are "inſtructed to wait for it." A Member of the Aſſembly obſerved, that theſe Commiſſioners ought to be more circumſpect in their language, and to remember that they were ſpeaking to the Repreſentatives of a great nation: but none of his colleagues dared to ſupport his obſervation, and the Aſſembly decreed, without any diſcuſſion, that this affair ſhould be ſent before the uſual Courts, and that the Sections of Paris ſhould be authorized to appoint each two Juries for accuſing, and two Juries for trying the men.

This decree did not promiſe victims enough to the fury of the people; the Commune was not ſatisfied with it, and *Robeſpierre*,

pierre, the uſual ſpeaker of theſe meſſages, appeared the ſame day at the head of a new deputation at the Bar of the Aſſembly, to whom he addreſſed remonſtrances which ſhowed but too clearly what was to be expected from that execrable monſter, if it ſhould ever be in his power to diſplay the ferocity of his character. "The juſt vengeance of the people," ſaid he, "has not "yet been ſatisfied ſince the 10th of Auguſt: "ſome inſurmountable obſtacles which "I cannot comprehend ſeem to prevent it. "The decree you have paſſed we think in-"ſufficient, and, pauſing at the preamble, "I find that it does not contain, that it does "not explain the nature and extent of the "crimes to be puniſhed by the people; it "ſpeaks only of the crimes committed on "the 10th of Auguſt, and that limits the "vengeance of the people too narrowly, for "thoſe crimes go much higher. The moſt "guilty of the conſpirators did not appear "on the 10th, and according to your decree "it would be impoſſible to puniſh them. "Thoſe men who put on the maſk of patrio-"tiſm to deſtroy patriotiſm; thoſe men that "affected to ſpeak the language of the laws, "to ſubvert all the laws; that *La Fayette*, "who

" who was not perhaps at Paris, but who " might be there; all theſe then would eſcape " the National vengeance! Let us no longer " confound times, let us ſee principles, let " us ſee public neceſſity, let us ſee the ef- " forts which the people have made to be " free. The people ſhould have a Govern- " ment worthy of them; they ſhould have " new judges created for the times; for if " again you give them their former Judges, " you will re-eſtabliſh prevaricating Judges, " and we ſhall run back to the chaos which " had nearly ruined the nation. The peo- " ple place their confidence in you; pre- " ſerve it, and do not loſe the glory of " ſaving liberty, to prolong unprofitably for " yourſelves, at the expence of equality, " and in contempt of juſtice, a ſtate of pride " and iniquity. *The people reſt, but they* " *are not aſleep.* They would have the " guilty puniſhed;—they are in the right. " You ought not to give them laws which " are contrary to their unanimous opinion. " We beg of you to rid us of the Conſti- " tuted Authorities, in whom we have no " confidence, and to put an end to that " double degree of juriſdiction which, by " creating delays, enſures impunity. We

" demand

" demand that the criminals ſhould be tried " at once, and without appeal, by Com- " miſſioners named by each Section."

On theſe remonſtrances being formed into a motion by *Chabot*, the Aſſembly, ſtill ready to pay a blind deference to all the deſires of the Commune, immediately declared that a popular Court or Commiſſion ſhould try the criminals, and for the mode of conducting it they referred to the Extraordinary Commiſſion, whom they charged to give an account of it before the Sitting broke up. *Briſſot*, who was appointed to make this report, ſhowed the many inconveniences and ſerious conſequences which would reſult from the creation of the new Court deſired by the Commune of Paris, and he propoſed to make this important point clear to the citizens by an addreſs, of which he read a plan, that was unanimouſly adopted; but the Commune paid no attention to it, and the very next day came and declared at the Bar that the people were impatient at not being avenged, and that at midnight they would hear the drums beat and the alarm-bell rung, unleſs the Aſſembly decreed before they broke up that a citizen ſhould be appointed from

from each Section to conſtitute a Criminal Court.

Some ſpeakers again ſtrove ineffectually to perſuade the Aſſembly that they ought to deſpiſe *theſe threats, to riſe to the height of their dignity, and to ſhow that they were firmly reſolved to die at their poſts rather than authorize the eſtabliſhment of an Inquiſitorial Court that ſhould arbitrarily diſpoſe of the lives of all the citizens.* Theſe fine phraſes were at firſt warmly applauded, and at one time it was thought that the Aſſembly were going to yield to them, but, unfortunately, their cowardice and all their terrors were again awakened by the voice of a Deputy of the Accuſing Jury, commiſſioned by his colleagues to come and open the eyes of the Legiſlative Body, *who appear*, ſaid he, *to be in utter darkneſs reſpecting what is paſſing in Paris.* He declared that if the people were not ſpeedily ſatisfied, *great calamities would go through the Capital.* "We invite you," added he, "not to be creeping in the track of the old "jurisprudence: it is by forbearance that "you have put the people to the neceſſity "of riſing, for, Legiſlators! it is ſolely by "their

" their own energy that the people have " ſaved themſelves. Riſe, Repreſentatives! " be great like the people, and deſerve their " confidence!"

This ſpeech, leſs brutal than that of the Commiſſioner of the Commune, but equally menacing, inſtantly determined the Aſſembly to decree that an Elective Body ſhould be immediately formed, compoſed of a Deputy choſen by each Section, to appoint the members of a Criminal Tribunal, for the purpoſe of trying, in the firſt inſtance, and without appeal, the crimes committed on the 10th of Auguſt, *and other crimes relative thereto, with all circumſtances and matters connected therewith:* which Tribunal ſhould be compoſed of eight Judges and eight aſſiſtants, &c. divided into two parts, each part compoſed of four Judges and four aſſiſtants, &c. This Court, this Tribunal, truly Revolutionary, inveſted with unlimited powers of life and death, and made up of men thirſting for blood*, was decreed unanimouſly!

* *Robeſpierre* was the firſt elected, but refuſed the office. He was alſo named with *Barrere* and *Collot d'Herbois* by *Danton* to form the Council of Juſtice to the Miniſter of that Department.

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The Aſſembly, doubtleſs with the idea of effacing the remembrance of the ſhame of the paſſive part to which the Commune had reduced them, or to veil it, ſuffered no opportunity to eſcape of paſſing, of their own accord, the moſt violent decrees, however abſurd or unjuſt*. On the bare reading of an anonymous note, dated on the 11th of November preceding, ſaid to be found in the King's chamber, and without any inquiry or previous diſcuſſion on the form or object of the paper, they paſſed a decree of impeachment (Auguſt 15) againſt all thoſe who compoſed the Miniſtry at the time

* In conſequence of a private letter, announcing that the Auſtrians were before Thionville, it was decreed, that the King, and the wives and children of the Emigrants ſhould ſerve as hoſtages to the Aſſembly. Another decree paſſed the ſame day ordained, that the declaration of the Rights of Man ſhould be ſtuck upon the portrait of *Louis* XVI. which his Majeſty had given to the Firſt Aſſembly, and which had remained in the Hall. The next day (Auguſt 16th) the Aſſembly decreed the abolition without indemnity of every kind of ſeignorial and feudal rights, except thoſe that ſhould be proved by the original title to have been eſtabliſhed in conſideration of a grant of land. This decree was finally drawn up and enacted in the Sitting of the 20th of Auguſt.

this

this note, which was attributed to M. *de Leſſart,* was dated. It was as follows:

The plan of the Committee of the Miniſters ſettled with M. M. Alexander Lameth and Barnave.

" 1ſt, To refuſe the ſanction;

" 2dly, To write a new letter to the " Princes in a fraternal but royal ſtyle;

" 3dly, A new proclamation reſpecting " the Emigrants in a firm ſtyle, ſhowing " clearly the reſolution of maintaining the " Conſtitution;

" 4thly, A demand, aſſigning reaſons, " addreſſed to the Powers, not to ſuffer on " their territory any aſſembling, arming, or " hoſtile preparations;

" 5thly, To eſtabliſh three Courts-Mar- " tial, and to make, if neceſſary, new regu- " lations relative to reſignations, deſertions, " ſuperceding, &c.

" The Miniſter of Juſtice ſhall carry the " decree, with the form *le Roi examinera* " written upon it, to the Aſſembly, and " deliver it himſelf to the Preſident. He " ſhall then, ſpeaking in his own name, ſtate " that the King would have concurred in

" in

" in ſome of the regulations of the law,
" (*that againſt the Emigrants*), but that
" the ſanction being indiviſible, &c. He
" ſhall ſay that the King has never loſt
" ſight of this object. He ſhall recapitu-
" late in a general manner what has been
" done; the proclamation reſpecting the
" Emigrants, and the letter which the King
" has already written to the Princes his
" brothers: he ſhall read the new letter to
" be written to them; he ſhall announce
" the regulations both old and new, of
" which each Miniſter ſhall immediately
" give an account.

" The Miniſter for Foreign Affairs ſhall
" ſtate the former regulations, and ſhow
" the good effect they have produced on the
" Emperor, by mentioning the orders he
" has given in the Low Countries. He
" ſhall alſo give notice of the new de-
" mand.

" The Miniſter of War ſhall give an ac-
" count of what relates to him.

" The Miniſter of the Interior ſhall ſay,
" that the decrees already paſſed relative to
" the payment of penſions, ſalaries, &c. are
" carefully executed.

" It is thought that afterwards the King
" would

" would do a very uſeful thing in demand-
" ing from each Department a certain num-
" ber of men to be placed in his guard."

This note related to the meſſage of the 12th of November, of which the object was, in fact, to announce to the Aſſembly that the King had refuſed his ſanction to the decree which they had paſſed againſt the Emigrants. That decree contained regulations which the Firſt Aſſembly had ſolemnly rejected as contrary to the principles, to the ſpirit, and to the letter of the Conſtitution. Miniſters, faithful to the King and to their oath, could not therefore do otherwiſe than adviſe his Majeſty to refuſe his ſanction to that decree, and at the ſame time, with reſpect to the Emigrants, to do every thing that was poſſible to attain more regularly the end propoſed by the Aſſembly: and ſuch was our conduct; and the very note on which the decree againſt us paſſed, was ſufficient to juſtify us. I do not know whether the writing was M. *de Leſſart's* hand or not, but the account it gave of what had paſſed at the meeting of the Miniſters, held on the 11th of November at the houſe of M. *Duport du Tertre*, was certainly very exact. M. M. *Alexander Lameth* and

Barnave being on terms of intimacy with that Miniſter and M. *de Leſſart*, had probably conferred with them upon it, but they were not preſent at the meeting. It is merely for the ſake of truth, and with no deſign of exculpating thoſe gentlemen that I mention this fact; for, even if we had concerted with them the wiſe and irreproachable plan drawn up in this note, it would have been no more a crime in them than in us*. It was, however, only againſt them that the decree of impeachment was originally paſſed, and we were not included in it till the obſervation was made by the Abbé *Fauchet*, that the Aſſembly, to be conſiſtent, ſhould include in the decree all the Miniſters at the meeting †.

In this manner did the Aſſembly labour to juſtify the fulſome praiſes daily laviſhed on their firmneſs and courage in the harangues of all the deputations, and in numberleſs addreſſes of congratulation and attachment,

* It required all the impudence of the Deputy *Cambon* to dare to maintain *that this paper was enough to convince the moſt incredulous, of the exiſtence of the focus of conſpiracy known under the name of the Auſtrian Committee.*

† See my Private Memoirs, chap. XXXIV.

the

the reading of which alone conſumed almoſt all their time, and at laſt diſguſted the Legiſlative Body with their permanence*. To relieve themſelves of the trouble and tediouſneſs attending it, the Aſſembly decreed, that their ſitting *ſtill permanent* ſhould in future not open till eight o'clock in the morning, and laſt till four; that in the afternoon it ſhould open at ſix and laſt till eleven, and that in the intervals there ſhould remain in the Hall only ſix Deputies in the day time, and thirty in the night, to receive deputations and diſpatches, and to give notice, if there were occaſion, to the other Members of the Legiſlative Body. Their perſonal ſafety in caſe of freſh troubles was the principal object of this precaution, for the Aſſembly were not able, nor even willing to concur in the maintenance of public tranquillity. Inſtead of ſending away to the armies thoſe courageous patriots, thoſe Federates, thoſe Marſeillois, whoſe preſence alone kept up the ferment and alarm in Paris, they daily admitted to the

* Praiſes undeſerved always ſatiate the ſooneſt, becauſe they flatter much leſs than they mortify the vanity of him who receives them.

honours of their Sitting the Deputations of thoſe ſelf-named *effective and immediate Repreſentatives of the univerſality of the ſovereign people*, and made it a point to attend with the greateſt reſpect to all the demands they had the impertinence to make. Thoſe brigands ſignaliſed their ſovereignty in dictating laws to the Legiſlative Body, while waiting till circumſtances afforded them a new opportunity of exerciſing, by aſſaſſinations in maſs, the functions which their ſtupid ferocity attributed to the Executive Power. The Republican faction, of whom they were the blind inſtruments, neglected nothing to prevent their ſanguinary rage, for which they ſtill had occaſion, from abating. For this purpoſe, the idea was ſuggeſted to them of celebrating ſome day with a funereal entertainment, *in honour of the manes of the noble martyrs of liberty* who periſhed on the 10th of Auguſt. This was alſo a powerful means of reviving, and farther exciting the ferment of the people againſt Prieſts, Nobles, and Royalty. The inſcriptions and emblems prepared for this celebration had no other object. As ſoon as the day for it was fixed (Auguſt 26), a deputation of the Commune went and announced

nounced it to the Aſſembly, who decreed that ſixty of their Members ſhould attend the ceremony, and granted the money demanded of them for defraying the expences. Meanwhile they were informed, that the popular Commiſſion deſtined to give regularity, by a ſhow of judicious forms, to the condemnation and aſſaſſination of the perſons ſaid to be ſuſpected, who were arreſted after the outrages of the 10th of Auguſt, was formed, and would commence its functions on the 19th.

This monſtrous Tribunal, which had been divided into two parts to render it more expeditious, looked only for victims, and the number of thoſe which the Capital could yet afford to its activity appearing inſufficient to the Commune, they undertook to make a proviſion. They accordingly ſent a Municipal officer at the head of a battalion of National Guards, and a detachment of Marſeillois, to the towns and country-houſes in the vicinity of Paris and Verſailles, under pretence *of aſſiſting the different Communes to get rid of the conſpirators and Ariſtocrats who had fled to them for refuge.* The houſes, parks, and woods eighteen miles round were ſearched:

a great many ſuppoſed refractory Prieſts and ſome gentlemen were taken up and ſent to the priſon of the Abbaye; their papers were carried away, and arms of every kind ſeized and depoſited at the Commune. The Municipal officer who was at the head of this expedition, on his return went to the Aſſembly, and gave an account in the moſt triumphant ſtyle of the immenſe and *important harveſt* he had made; and they were mean enough to applaud repeatedly this atrocious violation of the laws.

The unfortunate Count *de Montmorin*, who after the 10th of Auguſt had gone to lodge at a waſherwoman's in the Fauxbourg St. Antoine, was diſcovered there on the 21ſt of Auguſt through the imprudence of the woman, who bought the fineſt fruits for him, and carried them home without taking any care to avoid the obſervation of her neighbours. This extraordinary purchaſe being repeated every day, too greatly exceeded the waſherwoman's means not to be remarked. It was ſoon ſuſpected that ſhe concealed ſome Ariſtocrat of the firſt claſs, and her houſe was ſurrounded and ſearched: M. *de Montmorin* was taken in it, and conducted to the Bar of the Aſſembly, whither he

he had been cited ſome days before by miſtake, on account of a Counter-revolutionary note found in the Palace of the Thuilleries, in the apartment which had been occupied by the Count *de Montmorin*, the Governor of Fontainbleau, a couſin of the Miniſter's. M. *de Montmorin* was examined, not only reſpecting the contents of the note in queſtion, but reſpecting ſeveral facts relative to his adminiſtration, for which he had been cenſured ſix months before, and had completely juſtified himſelf. He retained his coolneſs and preſence of mind during a long examination, and replied in ſo ſatisfactory a manner to all the queſtions put to him, that after he was heard, the Preſident told him that the Aſſembly permitted him to withdraw; but when he went from the Bar he was taken to the Committee-room, under the officious pretence of protecting him from the fury of the people, and he was kept there all night. He was ſtill there the next day, when the Aſſembly, on the propoſition of the Commiſſion of the Twelve, decreed, that as there were other articles of impeachment of a very ſerious nature againſt him, he ſhould be proviſionally put under arreſt. He was ſent to

the Abbaye*; and on the 31ſt of Auguſt a decree of impeachment was paſſed againſt him on a report of the Commiſſion of the Twelve, grounded, 1ſt, on M. *de Montmorin*'s having ſacrificed the intereſts of France to thoſe of Auſtria in rejecting the plan of alliance with Pruſſia againſt Auſtria and Ruſſia; 2dly, on his having concealed the league and preparations of the Foreign Powers, and not having adviſed preparations to be made in France to prevent them; 3dly, on his having concealed the deſigns and motions of the King's brothers.

There is not one of theſe charges that was not a ſcandalous piece of injuſtice. How could M. *de Montmorin* be ſuſpected of high treaſon for thinking that it was

* M. *de Montmorin* was one of the firſt victims of the maſſacres of the 2d and 3d of September. His murderers, after ſtriking him ſeveral blows, carried their barbarity ſo far as to impale him yet living, and in that manner bore him in triumph to the doors of the National Aſſembly, with the intention of laying this horrible trophy at their feet. They wiſhed to preſent it to them at the Bar, and it was not without difficulty that they were prevented. Thus were verified the gloomy preſages that for more than ſix months before had taken poſſeſſion of M. *de Montmorin*'s mind, from which I had endeavoured in vain to drive them.

more advantageous to France to avoid war by continuing faithful to its old allies, than to render it inevitable by entering into an alliance with Pruſſia againſt Auſtria and Ruſſia? Had he adopted that plan, would he not have been more juſtly open to cenſure for having raiſed two ſuch formidable Powers againſt France, inſtead of ſecuring their aſſiſtance againſt Pruſſia? How could M. *de Montmorin*, not having any official intelligence of the ſecret coalition of the Powers, and informed of it only by the public papers, be blamed for not having made it known officially to the Aſſembly; and how could it be aſcertained whether he had or had not adviſed in the King's Council preparations and meaſures which that circumſtance might require? By what means could M. *de Montmorin*, who was far from poſſeſſing the confidence of the King's brothers, be informed of their deſigns and motions; and was it not abſurd to reproach him for not revealing what he was ignorant of? The real crime of this Miniſter in the eyes of the King's enemies was, his having to the laſt moment preſerved and merited his Majeſty's confidence by an unſhaken attachment. It was alſo of great conſequence, no doubt,

doubt, to the ſucceſs of the regicide conſpiracy, to vilify, by odious charges, ſo irreproachable a witneſs of the virtues of *Louis* XVI. of the purity of his intentions, of his love for the French, of his ardent wiſhes, and of his ſacrifices for their happineſs. This too was the chief reaſon for the decrees of impeachment paſſed againſt almoſt all the Miniſters whom the King had appointed ſince his acceptance of the Conſtitution, and who had not been ſo vile as to betray him*.

In the number of the faithful ſervants of *Louis* XVI. the virtuous M. *de la Porte*, the Comptroller of the Civil Liſt, was one of the moſt criminal in the eyes of the factious, and he was accordingly one of the firſt victims of the popular Commiſſion. He was accuſed before them of having employed the money of the Civil Liſt in paying for libels tending to debaſe the National Aſſembly, foment diviſions, and bring on

* M. M. *Duport du Tertre*, *De Leſſart*, *Duportail*, *Tarlé*, *Bertrand de Moleville*, *Narbonne*, *De Grave*, *D'Abancour*, *Lajard*.—M. M. *de Montmorin* and *de Leſſart* were maſſacred in the month of September 1792; M. *Duport du Tertre* was guillotined on the 28th of November 1793.

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the ruin of the Government eſtabliſhed. He declared, and he deſerved to be believed, for he had never uttered falſehood, that the maintenance of the Conſtituted Authorities, was the ſole object of all the writings of which he had encouraged the publication. He defied his accuſers to mention a ſingle one of his writings that belied this aſſertion: they mentioned none; but the Jury declared that they believed in the exiſtence of a conſpiracy againſt the nation, and were convinced that M. *de la Porte* was an accomplice in it. He was condemned unanimouſly by thoſe villains, and executed on the 24th of Auguſt in the Square of the *Carouſel*. His life had been a model for virtue, and his death gave a great example of courage. "Citizens," ſaid he, addreſſing the people after having his ſentence pronounced, "may "my death reſtore tranquillity in the Em- "pire, and put an end to inteſtine diſſen- "tions! May the deciſion that deprives me "of life be the laſt unjuſt judgment of this "Tribunal!"

The Journaliſt *Duroſoi*, editor of the Paris Gazette, a zealous ſupporter of Royalty, alſo ſubmitted to his ſentence, with an uncommon degree of firmneſs: he heard it without

without being moved, and as he went from the Court left a letter, which was publicly read; it concluded with theſe words: "It "is a happy circumſtance for a Royaliſt "like me to die on St. Louis' day." He was guillotined on the 25th of Auguſt, at nine o'clock at night, by the light of torches. In thus varying the exhibition of this new kind of execution, it was no doubt intended to give it an additional attraction for the curioſity of the good Pariſians, and this refined attention accordingly drew together an immenſe crowd in the *Carouſel Square*. The next day another variety was attempted, which gave double intereſt to the exhibition, but which coſt the executioner his life*.

Why does the rigorous mandate of hiſtory impoſe upon me the ſevere taſk of retracing thoſe horrible ſcenes, thoſe diſguſting pictures, that would pollute the annals of the moſt ſavage nations? But that ſuch a Revolution may never again be experienced

* The executioner took the head of the perſon executed after it was ſeparated from the body by the guillotine, and as he was ſhowing it to the people, who were ſhouting *Vive la nation*, he fell from the ſcaffold and was killed on the ſpot.

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by France, or any civiliſed nation, it ought to excite as much abhorrence as it deſerves; it muſt therefore be painted ſuch as it was, and we now enter upon the period when its hiſtory, as others have ſaid before me, can no longer be written but with blood and mire.

CHAP-

CHAPTER XXXI.

Luckner appointed Generaliſſimo — The Command of the Army of the Centre given to Kellerman—The Fortreſs of Longwy ſurrenders to Clairfaye—Effect produced at Paris — Decree for baniſhing the Prieſts—Motion for a Corps of Regicides —Requiſition of 30,000 *men—Decrees for ſupplying the Deficiency of Arms— Other haſty Meaſures for augmenting the Military Force — Severe Decree againſt the Garriſon and Inhabitants of Longwy—Struggle between the Aſſembly and the Commune for Power. Diſſolution of the Commune decreed—The Execution*

cution of it eluded—Tallien's Speech to the Aſſembly—The Preſident's Reply—The Aſſembly panic-ſtruck—The Commune triumph — The Clergy arreſted generally — Abbé Sicard — Danton prevents the Enlargement of the Governor of Fontainbleau — Freſh Outrages heaped upon the King and Royal Family—D'Amourette's execrable Motion—Lord Gower recalled from Paris—Mr. Dundas's Letter—Le Brun's official Note in Anſwer—Note anticipating the Operations of the Duke of Brunſwick's Campaign.

By M. *de la Fayette*'s defection *Dumourier* attained the moſt advantageous ſituation he could deſire, and he was too ingenious not to make the moſt of it. His patriotic boaſtings and flatteries ſecured him the full confidence of the Aſſembly, already diſguſted with the dotings of Mareſchal *Luckner*; and the more ſo, as the attachment of the old General was rendered ſuſpicious by his connection with *La Fayette*, his equivocal conduct relative to the new oath, and ſome incivic expreſſions. His removal

removal from the command of the army of the centre was already reſolved by the Executive Council, and announced to the Aſſembly by the Miniſter of War*. *Kellerman*, named for that command on the recommendation of *Dumourier*, agreed with him not to accept it unleſs he were to continue to ſerve under Mareſchal *Luckner*, whoſe patriotiſm and military talents they both ridiculouſly extolled, and by their teſtimony and ſolicitation obtained for him the rank of *Generaliſſimo of all the forces of France*. His eſtabliſhment was increaſed, a circumſtance at leaſt as intereſting to him as the honour attached to his new dignity. His poſt was fixed at Châlons†, and his principal

* *Servan*, re-appointed to the office from which *Dumourier* had cauſed him to be diſmiſſed two months before to put himſelf in his place, immediately became his beſt friend, blindly approved all his plans, and acted entirely by his advice.

† The reſolution taken by the Miniſters on this occaſion will ſhow the form of the acts iſſued by the Executive Council.—"In the name of the nation, the Executive "Council, conſidering that from the conduct hitherto "maintained by Mareſchal *Luckner*, and the deſire ex- "preſſed by General *Kellerman* not to take a command "unleſs M. *Luckner* be Generaliſſimo, that there is no "impropriety in giving him that rank; that by placing "him

principal function was to be the medium of correſpondence between the Generals and the Aſſembly. He was alſo charged to attend to the ſupplies for the armies, the formation of the camps of Soiſſons, Paris, &c.*

The Revolution had not yet ſhown that inferior officers, who had never before had the command of a hundred men, might ſuddenly become great Generals, capable of leading a hundred thouſand men to victory;

" him at Châlons he will be conveniently ſituated to " aſſiſt the Generals of the different armies with his " counſel; and that he may in that town form a " reſerve of troops for receiving the remains of armies " beaten, RESOLVE, that he is charged as Generaliſſimo " of the armies to concur in their operations by his " counſel; that he ſhall keep a regiſter of their opera- " tions, a copy of which he ſhall ſend to the Executive " Council; that without interrupting the direct cor- " reſpondence of the Generals, he ſhall receive from " them a copy of all their letters and communications, " and that the Council ſhall ſend him a copy of all the " orders they ſhall iſſue."

* In order to occupy the inhabitants of the Capital and diſpel their fears, it had been determined to form an intrenchment round the town: thither the patriots of every claſs, and people who affected to be patriots for the ſake of ſafety, repaired in crowds every day to aſſiſt the workmen hired by the Commune.

and until *the principle of equality and the Marſeillois hymn* effected this miracle, it had been as ridiculous as hazardous for the command of the French armies, not to have had a name more diſtinguiſhed among Commanders than thoſe of *Dumourier*, *Kellerman*, *Beurnonville*, &c. Mareſchal *Luckner* was therefore Generaliſſimo in name, but *Dumourier* was ſo in fact, by the power which his credit with the Aſſembly and the Miniſters gave him over the Generals whom he had appointed, and over *Luckner* himſelf, who was indebted to him for his new rank. This arrangement alſo ſecured him the advantage of being able to throw on the Mareſchal almoſt the whole reſponſibility of defeats, and to leave him but a very ſmall ſhare in the glory of victories.

While the Executive Council were concerting with *Dumourier* on the new organization of the Staff of the army, General *Clairfaye*, at the head of 6,000 men attacked Longwy. This fortreſs, one of the keys of France, was defended by a garriſon of more than 2,600 men, and 38 pieces of cannon, and was abundantly provided with mortars, bombs, balls, ammunition, and ſtores of every kind, yet it capitulated on the 23d of Auguſt,

Auguſt, after a fortnight's bombardment, although the breach made was not practicable, and only eight men and ſix women had been killed by the burſting of the ſhells. The Commandant of the Fort, *La Vergne*, being urged by the Adminiſtrative Bodies and the townſmen to ſurrender, yielded to their entreaties, and retired with the garriſon to Verdun, where there was a conſiderable *depot* of proviſions and military ſtores. On the ſame day all the National cockades at Longwy diſappeared, none but white ones were ſeen there, nor any ſhouts heard but that of *Vive le Roi.*

This news was not officially known at Paris till the 26th of Auguſt, when it ſpread the greateſt alarm throughout the town. The inhabitants thought they already ſaw the hullans at the gates of the Capital; they calculated the number of days, the number of hours it would take them to come. The Commune, the Federates, the Marſeillois, were reproached with the 10th of Auguſt; and the Duke of *Brunſwick*'s manifeſto, which had been ſo much laughed at, no longer appeared ridiculous. The affrighted Jacobins trembled and called *treaſon*; and the valour of the patriots aſſembled in pub-

lic houſes roſe with their wine, and fell as the fumes of it diſperſed.

The terror that ſeized the Aſſembly ſhowed itſelf not only in the decrees they paſſed, but by the eagerneſs of a great number of the Members to obtain from the Municipality, ſome under feigned names, paſſports to leave Paris, pretending *that they were going to rouſe patriotiſm in Departments infected with Ariſtocracy.* *Tallien*, the ſecretary of the Commune, finding theſe applications increaſe, and gueſſing the real cauſe of them, took upon himſelf to forbid all the offices of the Commune to deliver any more paſſports to deputies till further orders. He then went and gave an account of his conduct to the Aſſembly, who approved it, and decreed that none of their Members ſhould quit Paris, but on leave granted by the Aſſembly. Had it not been for this decree, which left the Legiſlative Body the power of removing from Paris when they were no longer ſafe there, they would have been ſoon diſſolved by the deſertion of the majority of their Members.

The dread that at ſo critical a juncture the Prieſts might uſe their influence to diſpoſe the

the people to join the foreign armies, ſuggeſted the moſt barbarous meaſure that had ever yet been taken againſt them. The Aſſembly, *conſidering that at that moment, when the French ſtood in need of their union, and of all their ſtrength to repel the external enemy, they ſhould employ every means to ſecure internal peace*, decreed, that all Eccleſiaſtics who were made ſubject to the oath, and who had not taken it, or who after taking it had retracted and perſiſted in their retraction, ſhould in eight days quit the limits of the Diſtrict and of the Department where they reſide, and in fifteen days be out of the kingdom, on pain of being arreſted at the expiration of that time and tranſported to Guiana. Theſe regulations were extended to all ſuch other nonjuring, ſecular, and regular Eccleſiaſtics, Prieſts, ſimple clerks, or lay-brothers without exception, for whoſe removal, ſix citizens reſiding in the ſame Department ſhould apply. This was anſwering the double end of rendering the performance of the Catholic ſervice impoſſible, and of driving from the kingdom ſeveral thouſands of virtuous citizens whom there was no hope of attaching to a Revolution, which was ſupported

only by crimes, and which authorized them all. Will poſterity believe that this Aſſembly of *Legiſlators*, of Repreſentatives of France, liſtened without horror to a motion for organizing a body of 1,200 volunteer aſſaſſins, to go individually and attack the perſons of every King at war with France, and alſo the perſons of their Generals? Will they believe that this execrable motion* was adopted with ſuch enthuſiaſm by the majority, that two of them (*Merlin* and *Chabot*) declared, *that as ſoon as their functions as Legiſlators ceaſed they would join this corps, which might be called the* AVENGERS OF HUMANITY? The final drawing up of the decree was however ſuſpended, and referred to the Commiſſion, on its being obſerved by *Vergniaux*, that if they organized a corps of *tyrannicides*, the coaleſced Powers might alſo organize againſt France a corps of *generalicides* and of *deputicides*, and that the decree propoſed might thus become a decree of aſſaſſination againſt the patriot Generals, and the Members of the Aſſembly. I muſt not omit obſerving, that in this debate, the

* It was made by *Jean Debry* in the Sitting of the 26th of Auguſt.

defenders

defenders of the propoſed decree, conſidering it as a means of ſaving the nation from ſlavery, maintained that it was agreeable to the principles of nature, humanity, morality, philoſophy, &c.*

* The moſt violent Revolutioniſts were anxious above all things to paſs for philoſophers, and no doubt thought to be acknowledged as ſuch by obtaining a decree from the Aſſembly (Aug. 24th) declaring that the philoſophers of foreign nations who had rendered ſervice to the cauſe of Liberty, ſhould have the title of French citizens. Two days after, they conferred by name this character on ſome turbulent and ſeditious foreigners, ſuch as *Prieſtly*, *Thomas Paine*, *Hamilton Rowan*, *Anacharſis Clootz*, *Koſciuſco*, &c. *Anacharſis Clootz* preſented himſelf next day at the Bar to thank the Aſſembly for the honour they had done him. One may judge of the kind of philoſophy which the Aſſembly meant to honour, by the mad ſpeech this adventurer addreſſed to them: I will here inſert the paſſages of it that were moſt applauded.

"The coſmopolite philoſophers were partners in "your labours and in your dangers; you make them "partners in your glory by declaring them French "citizens. The errors of the Conſtituent Aſſembly "and the horrors of the Conſtitutional Royalty, formed "a wall of ſeparation, of which the memorable 10th "has left only the rubbiſh, which will be ſoon cleared "away by the National Convention. *Charles* IX. had "a ſucceſſor; *Louis* XVI. will have none. Legiſ-"lators, you know how to appreciate the heads of "philoſophers, it only remains for you to ſet a price

Theſe regicides were at leaſt as cowardly as they were ſavage, and all the decrees paſſed by the Aſſembly at this juncture bear the ſtamp of the extreme and often ſtupid terror which dictated them. They firſt enacted, that the Department of Paris, and the neighbouring Departments, ſhould immediately furniſh on a requiſition 30,000 men armed and equipped. This decree was accompanied with the following proclamation:

" Citizens, the fortreſs of Longwy has " juſt been ſurrendered, or betrayed. The " enemy is advancing. They perhaps flat-

" on thoſe of tyrants. Humanity conjures you to " raiſe a tyrannicide ſhout againſt *Frederic-William*, " and againſt the cannibal *Brunſwick*. The *Timoleons* " and the *Ankarſtroms* have ſpilled ſome drops of " an impure blood to ſtop a torrent of human blood. " The cruel *Guſtavus* would now have been making a " terrible carnage on our frontiers, had not *Brutus* " *Ankarſtrom* devoted himſelf for his ungrateful country. " A decree of proſcription againſt the Monarchs of " Pilnitz would ſpeedily terminate a long ſeries of " calamities. As for me, full of gratitude for your " laſt philoſophic decree, I feel how much it honours " me and how honourable it is to you. I take the oath " of being faithful to the univerſal nation, to the " equality, liberty, and ſovereignty of the human race. " At all times a Gallophile; my heart is French, my " ſoul is *ſans-culotte!*"

ter

" ter themſelves that they will everywhere " find cowards or traitors: they are miſ- " taken. Our armies are exaſperated at " this check, and their courage riſes with " it. Citizens! you partake their anger, " the country calls you—ſtand forth!"

To ſupply the deficiency of arms produced by the enormous waſte that had been made of them*, it was decreed, 1ſt, That Commiſſioners ſhould be appointed to direct the removal of the artillery and ſmall arms that were in the marine arſenals of Breſt and Rochefort to Paris; 2dly, That the arms diſtributed to the Departments of the Interior ſhould be proviſionally given to the National Volunteers who were going to the frontiers, on condition of being replaced as ſoon as others could be made.

The Aſſembly, whoſe fears were little relieved by this levy of 30,000 men, which might not be ſo ſpeedily effected as circumſtances required, decreed at the ſame time

* Such was the deficiency, that according to the report of the Commiſſioners of the Aſſembly, the 4000 men who compoſed the garriſon of Metz, and the volunteers ſent to *Luckner*'s camp, were moſt of them without arms or clothes. *See the Minutes of the Sitting of the 26th of Auguſt.*

that

that all the National Gendarmerie of the kingdom, foot as well as horſe, ſhould repair to different points that ſhould be marked out, whence they might be ſent either to the frontiers, or to the camp of reſerve; and that, upon the requiſition of the Commiſſioners of the Aſſembly to the different armies, the Generals ſhould be held bound to arm in their precincts the battalions of Volunteer National Guards, and likewiſe the companies and other troops newly formed. By another decree, all the Colonial troops in France were made regiments of the line on the war eſtabliſhment, that they might march againſt the enemy, and were promiſed the ſame promotion as the other troops of the line. Twelve Commiſſioners choſen from among the Aſſembly were ſent into the Departments, to excite the citizens to fly to the frontiers. The ſaddle and carriage horſes belonging to the Emigrants were ſeized and ſent to the armies. The Municipalities were authorized to make domiciliary viſits to ſearch for arms, to give them to the defenders of the country, and to draw up a ſtatement of horſes and waggons that might be uſeful in the

the war *. A few days after they were put into requiſition †.

Had the half of France been invaded by the enemy, no greater preparations could have been made for defending the other half; and yet the taking of the petty fortreſs of Longwy was the only advantage that had been gained by the Auſtrians. The Aſſembly then muſt have been greatly terrified, or have had very little confidence in the force of the French armies, to ſend them ſuch a quantity of arms and ſo many ſoldiers, with all the National Gendarmerie, at a moment when they were ſo much wanted in the interior of the country to repulſe and diſperſe the bodies of armed brigands that infeſted ſeveral Departments.

* The chief object of the domiciliary viſits was to arreſt ſuſpected perſons, or thoſe ſuppoſed to be ſuſpected. *Danton*, who propoſed this ſtep, expreſſed himſelf thus: "Till now the gates of the Capital have "been ſhut, and it was right. It was of conſequence "to lay hold of traitors; but were there 30,000 of "them to be arreſted, they muſt be arreſted to-morrow, "and to-morrow Paris muſt communicate with the "whole of France. We demand that you authoriſe us "to cauſe domiciliary viſits to be made."

† Decree of the 1ſt of September.

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The Aſſembly did not confine themſelves to theſe meaſures; they determined, by a great example of ſeverity, to prevent the conduct of the garriſon and inhabitants of Longwy being imitated, and accordingly decreed that the Commandant and garriſon ſhould be tried by a court-martial; that the inhabitants of Longwy ſhould be deprived of the rights of French citizens for ten years; and that as ſoon as that town was again in the power of the French nation, all the houſes in it, national houſes and buildings excepted, ſhould be razed to the ground. They decreed likewiſe that every citizen, in a town beſieged, who ſpoke of ſurrendering ſhould be puniſhed with death, and the Commandant was authorized to order the houſe of him who ſhould give ſuch a proof of cowardice to be demoliſhed. In the preamble of theſe decrees, they recited that which prohibited the Commandants, on pain of death, to ſurrender any fortreſs to the enemy without the conſent of the Adminiſtrative Bodies, and the latter to propoſe a ſurrender to the Commandants; ſo that if this decree had been put in force, no town beſieged could ever have ſurrendered, even after the breach

was

was made; conſequently the garriſon and inhabitants of all towns taken muſt, according to the laws of war, have been liable to be put to the ſword.

After quieting the fears of the people, or rather their own, the Aſſembly thought themſelves ſtrong enough to ſhake off the yoke of the Commune, who continuing to act as if they were excluſively inveſted with the plenitude of the ſovereignty of the people *, entered into reſolutions contrary to the decrees of the Legiſlative Body, to whom they ſent the moſt ſhocking demands, and always in the moſt threatening ſtyle. On the 23d of Auguſt they ſent a deputation, the ſpeaker of which delivered himſelf in theſe terms: "It is time that the "criminals of Orleans (*of the National "Supreme Court*) ſhould be removed to "Paris, to ſuffer the puniſhment due to "their crimes. If you do not grant this

* They put the following inſcription on the front of the *Hotel-de-Ville*:

Obéiſſez au peuple, écoutez ſes Décrets.
Il fut des Citoyens avant qu'il fut des Maitres.
Le peuple par les Rois fut long tems abuſé
Il s'eſt laſſé du Sceptre et le Sceptre eſt briſé.

"demand,

" demand, we no longer anſwer for the " vengeance of the people. You have heard " what we have ſaid, and you know that " inſurrection is a ſacred duty."

The Aſſembly having ventured to break out into ſome murmurs on hearing this ſpeech, one of the Federates who accompanied the deputation, addreſſed them and ſaid, " To refer this demand to the Com- " mittee of the Twelve is to devote it to " oblivion. We want a ſpeedy vengeance " not by the old forms, but by a court- " martial." The Preſident, incited by the looks and geſtures of the majority of his colleagues to act with firmneſs, replied, that threats produced no other effect on the National Aſſembly than that of confirming their reſolution to die at their poſt. " It " does not belong to us," added he, " to " change the Conſtitution, but to the Na- " tional Convention whom we have ſum- " moned. They only can alter the nature " of the National Supreme Court. We " have done our duty. If our death is " neceſſary to prove it to the people, with " whoſe efferveſcence you threaten us, they " may take our lives. As interpreter of the " ſentiments of the Aſſembly, I have made " them

" them known to you; you may report " them to the Commune. I invite you to " the honours of the Sitting."

The Aſſembly warmly applauded this reply, and paſſed to the order of the day, on the ground that it did not become them to deliberate on threats. The Commune were the more enraged at this ſpurt of energy, as it raiſed againſt them a multitude of complaints hitherto ſmothered by the terror inſpired by their vengeance. Remonſtrances were made againſt their uſurpation of all the powers, againſt their avidity in ſharing all the offices among themſelves, againſt their ſyſtem of degrading the Legiſlative Body, againſt the abuſes of authority which they committed every day, particularly the ſuppreſſion of the Committee of Subſiſtence, againſt the ſuſpenſion of the Mayor, againſt their writs for bringing perſons before them iſſued without authority, and for the enforcing of which they employed the moſt violent means*. Several depredations and purloining of effects were denounced to have

* They had cauſed the Hotel of the Miniſter of War to be inveſted with armed men, under pretence that *Girey-Dupré*, the printer, whom they had ſummoned to their Bar, was concealed in it.

been

been committed in a forcible manner by theſe faithleſs adminiſtrators, at the Thuilleries, the churches, the Garde-Meuble, &c. Some of theſe complaints were even ſupported by the teſtimony of the Miniſters.

On theſe different charges the Aſſembly ſummoned the Members of the Municipality perſonally accuſed to the Bar, and decreed, on conſidering the remonſtrances that had been made againſt the powers of the proviſional Commiſſioners of the Commune of Paris, which had been already revoked by ſome Sections, that there ſhould be nominated, in the courſe of twenty-four hours, two citizens by each of the Sections who ſhould be aſſembled, to proceed to the ſaid nominations; that the citizens ſo nominated ſhould form proviſionally, and till the next election of the Municipality of Paris, the Council-General of the Commune; and that immediately after the ſaid elections, the preſent Commiſſioners ſhould relinquiſh their functions *.

This

* The Aſſembly, foreſeeing that this decree would bring on a moſt ſerious quarrel between them and the Commune, determined to add to the advantages they had gained, that of an increaſe of popularity; and, in conſequence

This decree, which annihilated the moſt monſtrous power that the Revolution had engendered, was generally applauded by the good, a ſupport too feeble in Revolutions, becauſe they rarely have the energy of the wicked, and never ſuch a variety of means of rendering it uſeful to their party: all that audacity, crimes, atrocity could ſupply, were familiar to the horde of brigands who compoſed the Commune; and they neglected none that could elude the execution of the decree which diſſolved them. Let us ſee how they ſucceeded. The domiciliary viſits to all the houſes of the Capital in ſearch of arms and ſuſpected perſons, and the examinations and vindications of the perſons arreſted, ſo fully occupied the Sections, that they would not have had a moment to proceed to the elections ordered by the decree of the 30th, even if the decree had been ſent to them; and it will be readily imagined, that the Commune was in no great haſte to forward it, nor does it appear that it was ever ſent.

conſequence, decreed that very day, amidſt the plaudits of the galleries, that marriage was a contract diſſolvable by divorce.

On the 31ſt of Auguſt, juſt as the Aſſembly had annulled a writ which the Commune had iſſued to bring ſome perſon before them, and had decreed that the Preſident, (*Huguenin*), who had been ſummoned to the Bar, but had not appeared, ſhould be brought, a deputation of the Municipality, with the Mayor and Procureur of the Commune at their head, preſented themſelves to demand the revocation of the decree of the 30th. *Tallien*, Secretary to the Commune, and ſpeaker of the deputation, expreſſed himſelf in ſo remarkable a manner, that I cannot but report the principal paſſages of his ſpeech.

"Legiſlators! the proviſional Repreſen-
"tatives of the Commune of Paris have
"been calumniated; they have been con-
"demned without having been heard;
"they come to demand juſtice of you.
"Called upon by the people, in the night
"between the 9th and 10th, to ſave the
"country, it was their duty to do what
"they have done. The people did not
"limit their powers; the people ſaid to
"them, Go, act in our name, and we will
"approve all you do. Have not the citi-
"zens of Paris always ſhown reſpect to
"the

" the Legiſlative Body? Their precincts
" have never been ſullied but by the worthy
" deſcendant of *Louis* XI. and of the rival
" of Medicis. Is it not to the reſpect of
" the people for the National Aſſembly,
" that theſe tyrants are indebted for being
" ſtill alive? You yourſelves applauded all
" our meaſures. You have by us regained
" the eminence of the Repreſentatives of a
" free people: it was yourſelves who gave
" us the honourable title of Repreſentatives
" of the Commune, and it was your will
" to communicate directly with us. All
" that we have done has been ſanctioned by
" the people*; not by ſome factious per-
" ſons, as it is repreſented, but by a mil-
" lion of citizens. Queſtion them reſpect-
" ing us, and everywhere they will tell
" you, *they have ſaved the country.* If
" any among us have been capable of trea-
" chery, we demand, in the name of the
" Commune, that they ſhould be puniſhed.
" We have given no order againſt the liberty
" of good citizens, but we ſhall glory in
" having ſequeſtered the property of Emi-
" grants. We have cauſed conſpirators to

* The galleries atteſted this fact by their plaudits.

" be arreſted, and have conſigned them to
" the Tribunals for their ſafety, and for the
" ſafety of the State. We have turned out
" monks and nuns, that we might put up
" the houſes they occupied to ſale. We
" have made domiciliary viſits: by whom
" were we ordered to do ſo? By you. We
" have cauſed the refractory prieſts to be
" taken up; they are kept in a private
" houſe, *and in a few days the ſoil of li-*
" *berty ſhall be cleared of them*. Yeſ-*
" *terday the citizens in our galleries again*
" *acknowledged us for their Repreſenta-*
" *tives; they ſwore to us that they conti-*
" *nued their confidence in us.* If you
" ſmite us, ſmite alſo the people who ef-
" fected the revolution of the 14th of July,
" who conſolidated it on the 10th of Au-
" guſt, and who will maintain it. They
" are now met in Primary Aſſemblies, they
" are exerciſing their ſovereignty; conſult
" them and let them decide our fate. You
" have heard what we have ſaid: determine.
" Here we are. The men of the 10th of

* In ſix-and-thirty hours after this they all had their throats cut in the church of the Carmes, where they were ſhut up.

" Auguſt

" Auguſt wiſh only for juſtice, and to obey " the will of the people."

This inſolent ſpeech clearly ſhowed that the Commune were not at all diſpoſed to obey the decree which ordained their diſſolution; and it was merely through a remaining regard to cuſtom that they demanded the revocation of it of the Legiſlative Body, who had in reality no means of enforcing it*. This demand accordingly was accompanied by an appeal to the Primary Aſſemblies, and by a formal declaration that the Commune could not but obey the people, who, notwithſtanding the decree, *had ſworn the day before that they retained all their confidence.* The Preſident's reply to this harangue proved that he fully comprehended the meaning of it. " Would you," ſaid he, " diſhonour *our glorious Revolution*

* The Municipalities were not under the immediate authority of the Legiſlative or Executive Power, but under that of the Departments; and the new Commune had cauſed it to be decreed, that in every thing which did not concern the levying of the taxes, they ſhould be abſolutely independent of the Department of Paris, whoſe functions they had before ſuppreſſed, and the re-eſtabliſhment of which they had permitted only on that condition.

" by expoſing to the whole Empire the " ſcandal of a Commune diſobedient to the " general will, to the law? And what " would France ſay if this Capital, inveſt- " ing a proviſional Council with a dictato- " rial authority, ſhould attempt to ſeparate " itſelf from the reſt of the Empire, ſhould " attempt to withdraw their ſubmiſſion to " the laws common to all, and to ſtruggle " againſt the authority of the National " Aſſembly? But Paris will ſet no ſuch " example. A decree was paſſed yeſterday. " The National Aſſembly have performed " their duty; you will perform yours."

The Aſſembly, enraptured with the firmneſs diſplayed by their Preſident, were ſtill applauding him, when three citizens were admitted to the Bar. " People of the gal- " leries," ſaid one of them, " National " Aſſembly, and you, Mr. Preſident, we " come, in the name of the people who are " waiting at the door, to aſk to march into " the Hall to ſee the Repreſentatives of the " Commune who are here. We will, if it " muſt be ſo, die with them."

The firmneſs of the Preſident was a little ſhaken by this ſudden addreſs, and the change appeared in his anſwer, which he confined

confined to inviting theſe pretended deputies to go and tell their fellow citizens that the Aſſembly would equally maintain the liberty of the people, and the reſpect due to the Conſtitued Authorities. Several deputies obſerved in the mildeſt manner, that the Repreſentatives of the Commune were in no danger, that the people, by marching before the Aſſembly, would occaſion the loſs of valuable time, and that they might be ſatisfied with chooſing twenty perſons, who ſhould have the honours of the Sitting. "The people are free," cried the ſpeaker of the petitioners, "and yet deprived of "their liberty!"—"I aſk," replied one of the Members of the Aſſembly, "whether "we are free or not?" At theſe words they hurried away with looks of diſcontent and anger; at which the majority of the Aſſembly ſeemed to be very much alarmed, and their apprehenſions increaſed, on obſerving the *Procureur* of the Commune go out immediately after thoſe three men, whom they expected to ſee returning at the head of a large mob. The Reporter of the plan for a decree relative to the property of the Emigrants, read ſome of the heads of it, that the profound ſilence of the Aſſembly

at this moment might be taken for the ſilence of attention, and not that of terror; but it was not eaſily miſtaken. They liſtened, or rather had the appearance of liſtening, to the Reporter, but they did not hear him, and none of the articles he propoſed were diſcuſſed. In a few minutes the *Procureur* of the Commune returned to the Bar, and ſaid that he found no alarming aſſemblage at the doors of the Hall, but that he had cauſed *the three culpable petitioners* who had juſt gone out to be put under arreſt. This happy intelligence was warmly and repeatedly applauded. The Preſident told the *Procureur* of the Commune how much the Legiſlative Body were ſatisfied with this new proof of his zeal, and then haſtened to break up the Sitting, to ſave the Aſſembly from the deriſion of the galleries, that already broke forth into inſulting laughs at the *denouement* of this farce.

It is one of the moſt remarkable characters of the Revolution of France, that in the different National Aſſemblies which followed one after the other, and which were all the principal hot-beds of the Revolution, the minority voting for meaſures the moſt

moſt Unconſtitutional, violent, or criminal, conſtantly prevailed ſooner or later over the majority, who finally yielded, either becauſe they were frightened or wearied out, or becauſe wicked men have generally more energy and perſeverance in doing evil, than good men have in oppoſing it. This melancholy truth never appeared in a more ſtriking manner than in the diſpute of which I have juſt given an account. The Revolutionary Commune had, properly ſpeaking, no party in the Aſſembly; and the decree of the 30th of Auguſt for diſſolving them had met with no oppoſition but from a very ſmall number of obſcure and inſignificant creatures, at the head of whom was the moſt impudent of their claſs, the attorney *Thuriot*. That decree had been confirmed the next day by the reply which the Preſident had made to the deputation of the Commune; and yet *Thuriot* ſucceeded in having it annulled two days after by another decree, which, without formally revoking that of the 30th, enacted that the Council-General of the Commune ſhould be increaſed to the number of 288 Members, excluſive of the Municipal Officers; and that the Members of the Commune then

in

in office ſhould make a part of that number, unleſs their places were already filled up by their Sections. This was evidently retaining them all, for nothing had been done in execution of the decree, and the Aſſembly were not ignorant of it.

So little did the Commune doubt that this would be the iſſue of the diſpute, that they had not for a ſingle inſtance ſuſpended the courſe of their arbitrary arreſts, of their plunder, and outrages of every kind. They indiſcriminately arreſted and ſhut up all the prieſts and other eccleſiaſtics whom their numerous ſpies could diſcover. In thoſe horrible days, when the priſons of Paris ſuddenly became dens of carnage and of death, the Abbé *Sicard*, the only inſtructor of thoſe who were born deaf and dumb, was dragged to one of them. This worthy ſucceſſor of the Abbé *de l'Epée*, this beneficent reliever of the wrongs of nature, who was engaged in no other public employment than that of reſtoring daily to ſociety unfortunate beings that ſeemed to be excluded from it, was himſelf torn from it by order of the Commune. After he had been arreſted three days, his pupils not ſeeing him return to them, haſtened in tears to the Bar of

of the Aſſembly to beg that their inſtructor, friend, and father, might be reſtored to them; but notwithſtanding all the weight which the virtues, the ſervices, the miracles of the Abbé *Sicard* gave to this affecting petition, the Aſſembly, who had juſt before annulled an order of arreſt iſſued by the Commune againſt the printer of the *Patriote François*, contented themſelves with decreeing that the Executive Power ſhould lay before them an account of the reaſons for detaining this Eccleſiaſtic*.

The ſanguinary atrocity of the Commune was powerfully ſeconded in the Executive Council by *Danton*, who may juſtly be conſidered as the baſeſt and moſt audacious villain produced by the Revolution. This monſter in the human form, who in conſequence of the 10th of Auguſt had been appointed Miniſter of Juſtice, hearing that M. *de Montmorin*, the governor of Fontainebleau had been acquitted by the Popular Commiſſion inſtituted to try the perſons

* He owed his life on the 2d of September to the noble zeal of a watch-maker named *Monot*, who ſtood before him, and told the aſſaſſins, that they muſt pierce his breaſt before they reached the Abbé *Sicard*'s.

arreſted

arreſted after the 10th of Auguſt without appeal, took upon himſelf to detain him in priſon, and to order the Reviſion of his trial! The Reviſion, that judicial courſe, which the clemency of our Kings, as well as their juſtice, had opened only in favour of culprits condemned to too ſevere a puniſhment, was very well known to *Danton*, who had formerly been an advocate in the Council, in which character he had ſeveral times had occaſion to make uſe of it before his Majeſty's Privy Council, who alone were empowered to determine on thoſe applications, and who never decided upon them till after a thorough examination of the proceedings. It was reſerved for this wicked advocate, transformed to an aſſaſſin, Miniſter, to uſe this very term for the purpoſe of invalidating an acquittal ſolely on his own authority. But the greateſt enormities were conſidered by the regicides as fair when practiſed againſt perſons remaining faithful to the King, and one of the moſt unpardonable crimes at this dreadful era was daring to ſpeak of the innocence and the virtues of the auguſt priſoners in the Temple, and endeavouring to raiſe any compaſſion for them. The names of their Majeſties,

jeſties, particularly the Queen's, were ſcarcely ever mentioned in the Aſſembly but accompanied with abuſe and the moſt heinous imprecations. Cannibals kill their priſoners and devour them, but their barbarity does not go ſo far as to inflict on them outrages and ill treatment before the moment of death; they do not tear the huſband from the wife, the mother from her children. In what claſs of ſavage animals then are we to rank that deputy, or rather that bloody-minded monſter who, on the 29th of Auguſt, dared from the tribune to make the motion I am now to record. "I do not "approve," ſaid *D'Amourette*, "of *Louis* "XVI.'s living with his family. You may "be very ſure that means have been already "found to open a communication between "the Temple and Coblentz, between "*Marie-Antoinette* and the deſpicable re-"mains of her former Court, who on the "10th of this month eſcaped the juſtice of "the people. What! is it not enough "that this atrocious and bloody-minded "woman, that this butcher of a woman, "who, even at the bottom of the receſs "ſhe inhabits, is meditating on the means "of bathing herſelf in our blood; is it not

"enough

" enough that this woman ſtill exiſts, with-
" out your ſuffering her to enjoy the liberty
" of venting her rage in the boſom of na-
" ture, and of her renewing connections
" abroad with all that can betray us? If
" important conſiderations ſtill keep you
" from ſending this implacable ſcourge of
" the nation you repreſent to Orleans, at
" leaſt take ſuch meaſures as ſhall oblige
" the woman to vent her impotent fury
" alone, and reduce *Louis* XVI. left to his
" ſtupid nullity to correſpond no more but
" with ſhame and remorſe. I move that it
" be decreed, that the King and the different
" perſons of his family ſhall have no com-
" munication with one another."

Inſtead of rejecting with indignation this execrable motion, which the moſt ſtupid fury alone could have ſuggeſted, the Aſſembly contented themſelves with paſſing to the order of the day, for this reaſon, that as the cuſtody of the Royal Family was entruſted to the Municipality of Paris, it was their province to take the propoſed meaſure*.

* This barbarous meaſure was adopted a ſhort time after by the Municipality.

The

The Foreign Powers which had not entered into the coalition againſt France, but continued to ſupport their former political relations with her, while the King preſerved a ſhow of liberty, did not heſitate to recal their Ambaſſadors and Miniſters, when they heard that the King was confined in the Temple, and that they could have no communication with his Majeſty or Miniſters of his naming. The recal of Lord *Gower*, the Engliſh Ambaſſador, cauſed the greateſt ſenſation at Paris, not only on account of the wiſdom and moderation of the letter written to his Excellency by his Britannic Majeſty's Miniſter, but of the lively intereſt that was expreſſed in it in behalf of *Louis* XVI. and the Royal Family. It was as follows:

Copy of a letter written to Earl Gower, *Engliſh Ambaſſador at Paris, by Mr.* Dundas, *and delivered to the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs, dated Whitehall, the 17th of Auguſt* 1792.

" My Lord,

" In Lord *Grenville*'s abſence I have re-
" ceived and laid before the King your laſt
" diſpatches.

" His

" His Majeſty has been very deeply af-
" flicted in receiving the information of the
" extent and the deplorable conſequences of
" the troubles which happened in Paris;
" as well on account of his perſonal attach-
" ment to their moſt Chriſtian Majeſties,
" and the intereſt that he has always taken
" in their welfare, as for the earneſt deſire
" he has for the tranquillity and proſperity
" of a kingdom with which he is on terms
" of friendſhip.

" As it appears, in the preſent ſtate of
" affairs, the exerciſe of the Executive
" Power has been withdrawn from his moſt
" Chriſtian Majeſty, the credentials which
" have hitherto been made uſe of by your
" Excellency *can no longer be valid.* His
" Majeſty is therefore of opinion, that you
" ought not to remain any longer in Paris,
" as well on this account, as becauſe this
" ſtep appears to him the moſt conformable
" to the principles of neutrality which
" he has hitherto obſerved. His Majeſty's
" pleaſure therefore is, that you ſhould quit
" that city, and return to England, as ſoon
" as you ſhall have been able to procure the
" neceſſary paſſports for that purpoſe.

" In all the converſations that you may
" have

" have occaſion to hold before your depar-
" ture, you will take care to expreſs your-
" ſelf in a manner conformable to the ſen-
" timents herein communicated to you, and
" you will take eſpecial care not to neg-
" lect any opportunity of declaring, that at
" the ſame time his Majeſty means to ob-
" ſerve the principles of neutrality in every
" thing which regards the arrangement of
" the internal government of France, he
" does not conceive that he departs from
" theſe principles in manifeſting, by every
" means in his power, his ſolicitude for
" the perſonal ſituation of their moſt Chriſ-
" tian Majeſties and the Royal Family.
" He moſt earneſtly hopes that his wiſhes
" in that reſpect will not be deceived; that
" the Royal Family will be preſerved from
" every act of violence; the commiſſion of
" which would not fail to excite ſentiments
" of univerſal indignation throughout all
" Europe.

" I have the honour to be, &c.

" Henry Dundas."

Official note in reply to the Communication of this letter.

" The underſigned Miniſter for Foreign " Affairs has loſt no time in communi- " cating to the Proviſional Executive Coun- " cil the letter communicated to him by his " Excellency Earl *Gower*, Ambaſſador " Extraordinary from his Britannic Ma- " jeſty.

" The Council has ſeen with regret, that " the Britiſh Cabinet has reſolved to recal " an Ambaſſador, whoſe preſence atteſted " the favourable diſpoſition of a free and " generous nation, and who has never been " the organ but of friendly expreſſions " and of benevolent ſentiments. If any " thing can abate this regret, it is the re- " newed aſſurance of neutrality made on the " part of England to the French nation.

" This aſſurance ſeems to be the reſult of " an intention wiſely conſidered and for- " mally expreſſed by his Britannic Majeſty, " *not to meddle with the interior arrange-* " *ments of the affairs of France.* We are " not ſurpriſed at ſuch a declaration, made

" by

" by an enlightened and high-ſpirited na-
" tion, who have been the firſt to acknow-
" ledge and eſtabliſh the principle of na-
" tional ſovereignty; who, by ſubſtituting
" the empire of the laws, the expreſſed
" will of all, to the arbitrary caprices of a
" few individuals, have been the firſt to
" furniſh the example of ſubjecting Kings
" themſelves to this ſalutary yoke; and
" who, finally, have not thought too dearly
" purchaſed, by long convulſions and vio-
" lent ſtorms, that liberty, which has been
" productive of ſo much glory and pro-
" ſperity.

" This principle of the unalienable ſove-
" reignty of the people is going to be diſ-
" played in a ſtriking manner in the Na-
" tional Convention, the convocation of
" which has been decreed by the Legiſ-
" lative Body, and which will, no doubt,
" fix all parties and all intereſts. The
" French nation has good grounds to hope
" that the Britiſh Cabinet will not, *at this*
" *deciſive moment*, depart from that juſtice,
" moderation, and impartiality, which it
" has hitherto manifeſted.

" Full of this confidence, which reſts
" on facts, the underſigned renews to his

" Excellency Earl *Gower*, in the name of " the Proviſional Executive Council, the " aſſurances which he has had the honour " to give him *viva voce*, that whatever " relates to commerce between the two " nations, and affairs in general, ſhall " be carried on, on the part of the French " Government, with the ſame juſtice " and fidelity. The Council flatter them- " ſelves that there will be a full reci- " procity on the part of the Britiſh Govern- " ment, and that nothing will interrupt the " good underſtanding which ſubſiſts be- " tween the two nations.

" The Miniſter for Foreign Affairs,

" LE BRUN."

This impertinent note, which made no reply whatever to the ſentiments expreſſed by the King of England on the ſituation of *Louis* XVI. and the Royal Family, was much leſs addreſſed to his Britannic Majeſty than to the Engliſh people, whom it flattered on their Revolution, on their liberty, and on the glory they had acquired in ſetting the firſt example of ſubjecting Kings to the National Sovereignty. The Executive Council thought, no doubt, that this note would render

render the Revolution of the 10th of Auguſt popular in England, and would fix the neutrality of that Power; but they did not know the Engliſh nation; they did not know that they were prouder of their Counter-revolution than of their Revolution, the exceſſes of which they continue to lament to this day*; nor that this wiſe and loyal people prided themſelves not more on their attachment to the Conſtitution whence they derive their glory and proſperity, than on their love and veneration for the excellent Monarch to whom England owes her happineſs, and to whom ſhe is indebted for an illuſtrious example of virtue.

At the ſame period (September 1ſt) there appeared in the Moniteur another note, ſaid to come from good authority, containing a very circumſtantial account of the plan of the operations to be purſued by the armies of the Powers leagued againſt France. This note is the more remarkable, as the accuracy of it was ſufficiently corroborated by the iſſue, to create a ſuſpicion of treachery, or

* A National faſt, kept every year on the 30th of January, the anniverſary of the martyrdom of *Charles* I. ſolemnizes and perpetuates the horror of England for that execrable crime.

at leaſt of very great indiſcretion. The chief articles of it were as follows:

" The troops of the patriots are to be " haraſſed as little as poſſible, to prevent " their becoming inured to war, nor are " ſieges of any importance to be under- " taken. The armies ſhall not be expoſed " to any conſiderable check to avoid giving " encouragement; and when they attack, it " ſhall be on ſeveral ſides at once, and with " ſuperior forces; and it muſt always be " kept in mind, that more than 200 leaders, " diſperſed in the different cantons of France, " have points of rendezvous, and keep liſts " of numerous ſignatures of perſons who " are to join the army of the Princes as it " advances.

" The combined armies are to march " towards fortified towns as if they meant " to beſiege them, but they ſhall only take " poſſeſſion of thoſe which ſhall open their " gates, and leave detachments before ſuch " as reſolve to reſiſt, to prevent the garriſons " from coming out.

" On coming up with the armies of the " patriots, it ſhall be enough to encamp in " ſight of them, and no battle ſhall be " fought without an advantage; but in " the

" the mean time large detachments ſhall be " ſent to make themſelves maſters of the " country, and at every place favour the " motions of the Counter-revolutioniſts.

" This point attained, while the Duke " of *Brunſwick* keeps the patriot forces in " check with his different armies, the King " of Pruſſia ſhall advance with an army " chiefly Pruſſian, to act in concert with " the Auſtrian army; and at this time the " army of the Princes ſhall march forward, " increaſed by the Counter-revolutioniſts of " the Interior, who for a conſiderable time " paſt were ordered or permitted to return " to France, according to the different " charges with which they were entruſted.

" The King of Pruſſia ſhall march to " Paris, which ſhall immediately be reduced " by famine;" &c.

This note may ſerve to explain ſeveral myſterious circumſtances of the campaign of the year 1792, ſuch as the raiſing the ſiege of Thionville, the long inaction of the Duke of *Brunſwick*'s army, and ſome other facts.

CHAP-

CHAPTER XXXII.

Syſtem of Terror—Domiciliary Viſits—A great Number of Perſons arreſted—Verdun beſieged—Robeſpierre denounces Briſſot and the Gironde Faction—The Plan of the Maſſacres of September ſettled by Danton and others—Proclamation for forming an Army to march againſt the Duke of Brunſwick—Decree inveſting the Executive Council with arbitrary Power—Horrid Maſſacres at the Abbaye, the Carmes, and St. Firmin—Theſe Horrors the Conſequences of a premeditated Plan—Scandalous Conduct of the

the Aſſembly—Tallien's Defence of the Maſſacres—Reſolution not to defend the Temple againſt the Mob—Elizabeth Cazotte—The Princeſs de Tarente—Maſſacres at the Hotel de la Force—The Princeſs de Lamballe—Mob at the Temple—Dreadful Situation of the Royal Family—The Duke of Orleans ſuſpected of ordering the Murder of the Princeſs de Lamballe—Maſſacres at the Bicetre—Verdun taken—General Panic—Danton uſurps the whole Executive Power—Roland—The Continuance of the Maſſacres juſtified by Hirelings—The People not Accomplices in the Maſſacres, which were intended to be general throughout the Kingdom—Removal and Maſſacre of the Priſoners confined at Orleans.

THOSE men of blood who had been the means of eſtabliſhing the popular tribunal, in order to ſupply, by its activity, the tardineſs of the proceedings of the National Supreme Court, ſoon found that it was neither ſufficiently expeditious nor ſufficiently ſevere. It hardly got through a trial

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in a day, and had already deviated from the object of its eſtabliſhment ſo far, as to acquit ſome of the perſons accuſed. This was allowing the taſte of the people for executions to cool, the Revolution to grow languid at the moment of its greateſt energy, and running the riſk of ſuffering a great number of its victims to eſcape. The Commune ſaw no other way of preventing all theſe dangers, of repairing all theſe errors, than that of giving new force to the principal Revolutionary ſpring, terror; and they undertook the work with the leſs ſcruple, as from its ſucceſs they alſo expected the confirmation of their own authority, which the National Aſſembly had ſhaken a little. The Miniſter *Danton* ſeconded this project as much as he could, by obtaining authority for the Municipalities to make domiciliary viſits; and this terrible act of the moſt odious deſpotiſm was carried into execution in the Capital, in the name of liberty, with a violence unknown in the hiſtory of any country. The decree that authorized it was paſſed on the 28th of Auguſt, and immediately ſent to the Commune, of which *Robeſpierre* was then Preſident.

ſident. The orders for the execution of it were inſtantly made out and directed to all the Sections; the barriers were ſhut at four o'clock in the evening, the drums beat the *generale*, and an order of the Commune gave all the citizens notice to be at home at ſix.

This order ſpread alarm and conſternation through every worthy family in the Capital. It was aimed not only at the nobles and prieſts, but at the citizens of every claſs who had ſigned the famous petition of the twenty thouſand, and who were ſaid to be included in the liſts of proſcription. All who were afraid of being arreſted made uſe of the little time the order of the Commune left them, in ſeeking a hiding place, in which they might ſhun the domiciliary viſits. Cloſets concealed by painted paper or ſham pannels, cellars, lofts, chimnies, and ſinks, ſheltered a great many: ſome hid themſelves in empty caſks, others under piles of fire-wood, under bundles of ſtraw, between mattreſſes, and in old rolls of tapeſtry. Several took different diſguiſes, and went for refuge to the rooms of labourers, waſherwomen, women of the town whom they

they had never known*, and even to the beds of hoſpitals between the dead and the dying!

At length the fatal hour ſtruck, and warned the affrighted citizens home. At the ſame inſtant the tradeſmen ſhut up all their ſhops, the carriages all retired, and in the noiſieſt and moſt frequented ſtreets all was ſtill, and not a creature to be ſeen. Within the houſes every family, not protected by ſome great villain, preſented a picture of deſpair and terror. Each trembled for himſelf, for his children, for his friends, and for his property. The arrival of the Commiſſioners of the Sections was expected and watched for with the extreme of anxiety; but the domiciliary viſits did not begin till one o'clock in the morning. The Commiſſioners were attended by patrols of ſixty men armed with pikes, who in all the ſtreets protected their operations, prevented the inhabitants of the houſes not viſited from going to thoſe that had been

* Theſe were the ſafeſt, and this night of horror produced at leaſt ſeveral examples of vice deceiving villany, to protect virtue.

viſited

viſited, and ſerved as a guard for the perſons taken up as ſuſpected. The continual motion of ſo many armed men, the knocking at the doors violently repeated to have them opened, or to force ſuch houſes as had been left by the inhabitants; the complaints of thoſe dragged away to the Sections, the ſwearing of thoſe who had charge of them, and the clamours of the patriots in all the public houſes, kept the Capital in a frightful uproar through the remainder of the night. More than 3000 perſons, pretended to be ſuſpected, were arreſted. Some of them were releaſed the next day, but the following days the arreſts continued to be made. The priſons and National buildings, that is to ſay, the churches, convents, and ſeminaries, converted into places of confinement, were filled: not only Royaliſts and prieſts were ſhut up in them, but ſeveral Conſtitutionaliſts, and ſome moderate patriots of different Sections. It was on this occaſion that the Section *des Lombards* entered into a reſolution, by which they declared the Council-General of the Commune *uſurpers*, withdrew their Commiſſioners from them, and invited the other Sections

Sections to do the ſame *. *Tallien* and ſome other Members of the Commune, as great villains as himſelf, did every thing they could, but in vain, to raiſe the people againſt the Section *des Lombards*. One of the ſpeakers who had the moſt contributed to the adoption of the reſolution (*Louvet*) was denounced in the Tribune of the Council-General as a Counter-revolutioniſt by *Robeſpierre*, who carried his fury ſo far as to demand his head; and he owed his life only to the report that was ſpread of his being arreſted. Theſe outrages did not prevent ſome other Sections from following the example of that of the *Lombards*. The Miniſters themſelves, perpetually fettered in the exerciſe of the Executive Power by the enterpriſes of the Commune, which were favoured only by *Danton*, had complained to the Aſſembly. It is true, that as a puniſhment for their audacity, they were declared *ſuſpected*, and marked out for popular vengeance by placards ſtuck up about

* This reſolution was one of the chief reaſons for the decree for diſſolving the Commune; a decree which the Aſſembly did not dare to enforce, and which their cowardice led them to annul a few days after by modifications.

the

the ſtreets; and *Roland*, notwithſtanding all his popularity, was ſummoned by *Robeſpierre* to the Bar of the Council-General.

The Commune did not confine themſelves to theſe petty means, which *Marat*, one of their principal Members, called *demi-meſures*. He had computed, and daily repeated in his paper, that there remained 300,000 heads to be cut off, in order to conſolidate the Revolution, liberty, the ſovereignty of the people, &c. It was more blood that this monſter wanted, and the Commune did not let him wait long for it.

It was heard at Paris on the 1ſt of September, that Verdun was beſieged, and that it was not provided with any means of defence. The Jacobins, quick in taking advantage of every occaſion, thought only of turning the general alarm ſpread by this news, in favour of the Commune. Their emiſſaries, mixing with the crowded groups formed at the Palais-Royal, and in all public places, ſhouted *treaſon*, and maintained that the Duke of *Brunſwick* would never have dared to penetrate ſo far into the French territories, if he had not entered into a ſecret treaty with ſome Members of the Executive Council, and even with the Aſſembly.

Several

Several vague denunciations, but all tending to the ſame end, were made on the ſame day to the Council-General of the Commune; and when *Robeſpierre* thought that the credulity of his auditors was ſufficiently raiſed to admit the groſſeſt impoſitions, he darted to the Tribune, as if tranſported with indignation and patriotiſm. "No one "then," ſaid he, "dares to name the trai- "tors. If that be the caſe, for the good "of the people I will name them. I de- "nounce the liberticide *Briſſot*, the Gi- "ronde faction, and the corrupt Commiſ- "ſion of the Twenty-one of the National "Aſſembly. I denounce them for having "ſold France to *Brunſwick*, and for hav- "ing received in advance the price of their "treachery. I engage to produce to-mor- "row the proof of this execrable plot *."

In the night of September 1ſt, *Danton* aſſembled at his houſe the greateſt villains of the Jacobin Club and of the Commune, and ſettled with them definitively the plan of all the crimes which were to fully the

* The Commiſſion of the Twenty-one, the Girondiſts, and *Briſſot*, had been the chief promoters of the decree for diſſolving the Commune: *inde ire.*

follow-

following days: thoſe days of blood and horror; the remembrance of which would alone ſuffice to ſtamp a laſting ſhame on the Revolution of France, and to devote the authors of it to the execration of poſterity.

On Sunday, September 2d, at eleven o'clock in the morning, two Municipal Officers appeared at the Bar of the Aſſembly, and gave notice that the Council-General had reſolved that the *tocſin* ſhould be rung in Paris, the drums beat, the alarm-gun fired, and that all the patriotic citizens of Paris and of the adjoining Departments ſhould be invited to aſſemble in the *Champ-de-Mars*, to march againſt the enemy; that in the meantime the Council were to ſend Commiſſioners on the road to Châlons, to invite the citizens to join thoſe who were to go from Paris; and that the Municipality had juſt publiſhed the following proclamation:

"Citizens, the enemy are at the gates of "Paris; Verdun, which ſtops them, can-"not hold out more than a week; the "citizens who are defending it have ſworn "to die rather than ſurrender: this is tell-"ing you that they are making a rampart

" of their bodies for you; it is your duty " to fly to their aſſiſtance. Citizens, march " immediately under your colours; let us " aſſemble in the *Champ-de-Mars*, and let " an army of 60,000 men be formed di- " rectly. Let us go and expire under the " blows of the enemy, or exterminate them " with ours."

Theſe meaſures were all warmly applauded by the Aſſembly. " It is now," cried *Vergniaux*, " that Paris muſt ſhow herſelf " truly great. I recogniſe her courage in " the ſtep ſhe has juſt taken, and now it " may be ſaid the country is ſaved. It " ſeems that the plan of our enemies is to " proceed to Paris, leaving behind them the " fortreſſes and our armies, which are not " ſtrong enough to attack them, but which " can follow them, annoy them, and cut " off their communications; and if, at a " determined point, we ſuddenly preſent " them a formidable front, if our brave " Pariſian army take their van, while our " battalions following them, attack their " rear, then ſhall they be ſwallowed by " that earth which they have profaned by " their ſacrilegious march: but amidſt theſe

" flattering

" flattering hopes, there is a reflection which
" we muſt not conceal; there are, you
" know, men formed of ſo miry a clay,
" that they diſſolve at the idea of the
" ſlighteſt danger. I wiſh we could diſ-
" tinguiſh this ſpecies having the human
" ſhape without a ſoul, that all the indivi-
" duals of it might be put together in the
" ſame town, Longwy for example, which
" might be called *the town of cowards.*
" Let Paris at preſent diſplay great vigour,
" let her be ſuperior to thoſe panics which
" magnify dwarfs into giants, and the duſt
" that flies before a pack of Germans into
" armed battalions, and the country is ſaved.
" Men of the 14th of July, and of the
" 10th of Auguſt, it is you I call upon—
" Yes, the National Aſſembly may depend
" upon your courage. But why are not the
" entrenchments of the camp under the
" ramparts of this city more advanced?
" Where are the ſpades, the pick-axes, all
" the inſtruments that raiſed the altar of the
" Federation, and levelled the *Champ-de-*
" *Mars?* Have the citizens been leſs eager
" in fortifying a camp, than they were in
" forming the ground for a feſtival? You

" ſang and celebrated liberty; the point " now is to defend her. It is not Kings of " bronze that we have to overturn at pre- " ſent, but Kings ſurrounded with power- " ful armies. I move that the Aſſembly " ſend immediately, and every day, twelve " Commiſſioners to the camp, not to exhort " by empty ſpeeches the citizens to work, " but to dig the ground themſelves; for " there is no longer any time for ſpeaking. " We muſt dig the grave of our enemies, " for every ſtep they advance digs ours."

This motion excited general acclamations, and was unanimouſly decreed. *Danton*, who with his colleagues were preſent at this Sitting, ſeized this moment of enthuſiaſm and terror to obtain a decree, inveſting the Executive Council with the moſt unlimited and arbitrary power. He magnified the ſervices rendered by the Commune, and the importance of the meaſures they had juſt taken at his inſtigation. " It is at this mo- " ment," ſaid he, " that you may declare " that the Capital has merited well of all " France. The *tocſin*, which is going to " be rung, is no ſignal of alarm; it is the " charge to attack the enemies of the coun- " try.

" try. To conquer them, Gentlemen, we " muſt put on boldneſs; boldneſs, more " boldneſs, and France is ſaved. We be- " ſeech you to concur with us in directing " this ſublime feeling of the people." Theſe obſervations were rapturouſly applauded, and followed by the following decree:

" The National Aſſembly decree, 1ſt, " That all thoſe who ſhall refuſe either to " ſerve perſonally, or to give their arms to " thoſe who are willing to march againſt " the enemy, ſhall be declared infamous, " traitors to the country, and deſerving of " death. 2dly, The ſame ſhall be declared " of thoſe who directly or indirectly ſhall " refuſe to execute, or ſhall in any manner " whatſoever impede the orders iſſued, and " the meaſures adopted by the Executive " Power. 3dly, That twelve Commiſſion- " ers from the Aſſembly ſhall be named " immediately to join the Executive Power, " and ſupport its meaſures."

It was one o'clock in the afternoon when the Aſſembly paſſed this fatal decree, which conferred the dreadful power of life and death on the Executive Council, or rather on *Danton*, who took upon himſelf the

whole exerciſe of it. At the ſame time the proclamation of the Commune was iſſued and made public, the alarm-gun was fired, the ſound of the tocſin and the beating of the drums were heard everywhere. Perſons on horſeback, coaches, cabriolets, and even the *voitures de place*, were ſtopped indiſcriminately in the ſtreets, and all the horſes taken and ſent to the Sections, to be employed for the carriage of the artillery. Several carriages, full of prieſts, who were departing in obedience to the decree which ordained their baniſhment, were ſtopped at the barriers, and led back to the *Hotel-de-Ville*, eſcorted by a crowd of Marſeillois and Federates, who repeated in their ſavage ſongs, *that they were going to make the Calotins dance the Carmagnole*. The Municipality, inſtead of protecting thoſe good prieſts in their ſubmiſſion to the law, and ſecuring them a free paſſage, ſent them to the Abbaye and the convent of the Carmes. They were followed by a crowd that increaſed every moment in number and rage. The Marſeillois diſcontinued their ſongs to bellow ſhouts of death. "While we are "gone," cried they, "to ſhed our blood "for the country and liberty, ſhall we leave

"our

" our wives and children expoſed to the " daggers of fanaticiſm and Ariſtocracy? " No, no. Periſh all Counter-revolution- " iſts!" Three carriages, crowded with theſe virtuous prieſts, arrived together at the Abbaye: thoſe who went out of the two firſt were ſuffered to go in the cloiſter; but ſcarcely was the door of the third opened, when there was a cry among the people that they had ſome ſecret intelligence with the other priſoners, that they had made ſigns to them, which thoſe at the windows had anſwered; at that inſtant the prieſts coming out of the third carriage, and thoſe already in the cloiſter of the Abbaye, were all maſſacred.

The news immediately ſpread through the town that the people were killing the prieſts; and although the Sitting of the National Aſſembly, of the Commune, of the Sections, of the Municipality, was permanent, not one of thoſe Conſtituted Authorities gave any order to put an end to the horrible carnage; and the Executive Council remained equally unconcerned.

The prieſts at the gate of the Abbaye were but the firſt victims of the fury of the brigands; almoſt all the priſoners who

had been ſhut up there ſince the 10th of Auguſt ſhared the ſame fate. They who eſcaped owed their lives to the fatigue of their butchers, who, after about twelve hours' continued maſſacre, having ſcarcely ſtrength to raiſe the inſtrument of death, took it into their heads, by way of breathing a little, to form a Criminal Tribunal compoſed of Judges choſen from among themſelves, before whom the priſoners ſtill living were brought one after another to take their trial *. They were queſtioned by the Preſident. Thoſe whoſe names were accompanied with no charge on the books of commitment, and who could prove that they had been arreſted by miſtake, were declared innocent, and were led in triumph to the

* The Preſident, ſometimes ſitting, ſometimes ſtanding, with a cutlaſs in his hand, was at a table on which were papers, an inkſtand, pipes, and bottles. Round the table were ten perſons, ſome in their ſhirt-ſleeves and aprons, others ſtretched at their length aſleep on benches, waking at times to join mechanically in the ſhouts they heard. *Maillard*, the bailiff, an inhabitant of the Fauxbourg St. Antoine, was the Preſident; the ſame man who had been ſeen playing a principal part at the taking of the Baſtille, on the 5th and 6th of October 1789, and on the 10th of Auguſt.

gates

gates of the Abbaye, where, before they obtained their liberty, they were obliged to ſubmit to receive kiſſes from the blood-clotted lips of the executioners, who, whether careſſing or cutting throats, ſhouted with the ſame tranſports of joy or fury, *Vive la Nation!*

The priſoners entered on the book as Counter-revolutioniſts, ſuſpected perſons, &c. were alſo tried *for the form*; but all that they could allege in their juſtification was without effect: as ſoon as they were done ſpeaking, the Preſident ordered *that they ſhould be carried to Laforce**. Ignorant that this was the form adopted by the Tribunal for the ſentence of death, and imagining that they were to be removed to the priſon of the *Hotel de Laforce*, they ſuffered themſelves to be led without reſiſtance to the gates of the Abbaye, where the moment they arrived they fell beneath the blows of the aſſaſſins. When theſe villains were fatigued with their work, to reſt themſelves they went and ſat among the Judges, who went in turn to perform the office of executioners. At times, however, this Tri-

* *Qu'on les conduiſit à Laforce.*

bunal

bunal of blood was thought not to be ſufficiently expeditious; and in ſome of the intervals between the ſentences the aſſaſſins murmured at having nothing to do. In one of thoſe intervals, ſome of them more impatient than their comrades, leaving their poſt, went and broke in the doors of a cell in which ſome priſoners had barricadoed themſelves, and maſſacred all they found there, though the Tribunal had not yet decided their fate *.

When all the prieſts found in the dungeons of the Abbaye had been ſacrificed, the Swiſs who had been carried thither *for their ſafety* were loudly called for by the aſſaſſins. The ſubaltern officers were all maſſacred without examination or trial. Captain *Reding*, confined to his bed by the wounds he had received on the 10th of Auguſt, was laid hold of by the murderers, who finding that he could not walk, hoiſted him upon their ſhoulders to carry him to the place of execution; but on the way one of them, tired of the piercing cries forced

* It was then two o'clock in the morning of the 3d of September, and the maſſacre had commenced the day before at two in the afternoon.

from

from that brave officer by pain, ſawed his throat with his cutlaſs, on the back of his comrades, who knew nothing of his death but by the ceaſing of his cries.

Were I to give an exact account of all the atrocities, of all the refinements of barbarity with which the 2d, 3d, and 4th days of September were ſullied, were I to bring in view the immenſe heaps of mutilated and palpitating corſes piled before the gates of all the priſons of the Capital, were I to paint the indefatigable, ferocious murderers covered with gore, and drinking the blood of their victims, mixed with brandy, to make their intoxication more furious, and were I to include in the ſcene an immenſe crowd of curious and idle people glutting their ſtupid looks with this execrable ſight, it would form the moſt horrible picture ever yet offered by the hiſtory of nations. I ſhall confine myſelf to ſketching ſome of the prominent traits of it.

All the prieſts who were at the Abbaye being maſſacred, the other houſes of confinement, where a much greater number of them had been ſhut up, were opened to the aſſaſſins. They went firſt to the convent of the Carmes, to which the Municipality had a few

a few days before ſent 185 prieſts, including an Archbiſhop and two Biſhops, namely, the Archbiſhop of *Arles* (*Dulau*), formerly agent to the clergy, and one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed prelates of the church of France for his profound knowledge, his zeal, and his virtues; the Biſhop of *Beauvais* (*La Rochefoucault*), and his brother, the Biſhop of *Saintes* *. They were all put out of the church half an hour before the arrival of the aſſaſſins, and ſent into the garden, after their names had been called over to aſcertain that none were wanting. The threatening ſhouts which they heard on all ſides, the pikes and ſwords which they ſaw glittering through the iron gates and windows about the garden, all convinced them that their laſt hour was come, and they waited for it with the moſt heroic reſignation.

As the clock ſtruck four, the aſſaſſins entered the church, bellowing oaths and imprecations moſt ſuited to excite their rage, and

* The latter was not arreſted by the Municipality; but the moment he heard that his brother was in priſon, he went to him, in ſpite of the urgent entreaties of his relations and friends, and determined to ſhare his fate.

ſtimulate

ſtimulate them to the greateſt crimes. After ſearching, to be certain that no prieſt had concealed himſelf in the church, they went out of it by the door leading to the garden *. This door, guarded by the National Gendarmerie, was thrown open to them without the leaſt reſiſtance. At their approach the prieſts ſeparated, and ſome of them, in the hope of ſaving themſelves, began to climb up trees, or ſcale the walls to get into the ſtreets or courts of the adjacent houſes; theſe were the firſt purſued, and were almoſt all of them brought down by muſket ſhots, then mangled with cutlaſſes, pikes, and bayonets; others ran to different parts of the garden, where they patiently waited their deſtiny; and a group of about thirty went with the three prelates into a little chapel at the extremity of the garden; there, on their knees, they implored God's mercy, bleſſed one another, and reciprocally embraced for the laſt time. As ten of the brigands advanced towards them, one of the prieſts went forward to ſpeak to them, but

* The gate of the church which opened to the *Rue Vaugirard* remained ſhut at the time of the maſſacre: the people took no part in it.

he

he was immediately ſhot and fell. The aſſaſſins then called for the Archbiſhop of *Arles*, and nobody anſwering, one of them diſcovered him by a mark of which he had been told.

"So," ſaid he to him, "you are "the Archbiſhop of *Arles?*" — "Yes, "Sirs, it is I," replied the Biſhop coolly. "Ah, wretch! is it you that cauſed the "blood of the patriots of Arles to be ſpil-"led?"—"Sirs, I never cauſed the blood "of any one to be ſpilled, nor in my life "have I ever done harm to any perſon "whatever."—"Well, then, I will do "you ſome;" ſaying which the villain gave him a cut with his ſword on the forehead; but at this the Archbiſhop did not ſtir; he received a ſecond cut acroſs his face, which made his blood guſh all over him; a third ſtroke threw him down, and he fell without ſuffering the ſlighteſt complaint to eſcape him. One of the villains thruſt his pike into his breaſt with ſuch violence, that he could not take it out again; he then ſtepped upon the quivering body, which he trampled under foot, forced out his pike broken, and ſtealing his watch, held it up with an air of triumph to his comrades, as the

the trophy and juſt recompence of his ferocity. Thus was completed the martyrdom of this venerable prelate, who died, as he had lived, an honour to religion.

During this horrid ſcene the Biſhops continued kneeling at the foot of the altar with the prieſts who had joined them: there was an iron gate between them and the aſſaſſins, who fired ſeveral times upon them quite cloſe, and killed the greater number. The Biſhop of *Beauvais* ſurvived this attack, and the Biſhop of *Saintes* only had his leg broken. The ten aſſaſſins then joined the others who were purſuing and ſlaughtering the prieſts in different parts of the garden. This horrible butchery had been going on for near a quarter of an hour, when a man, ſent no doubt by *Danton*, ran in and put a ſtop to it, by crying out to to the aſſaſſins, *Sirs, this is not what you ought to do; you go the wrong way to work; do as I ſhall tell you.* He then directed them to put all the prieſts into the church; there were nearly a hundred of them remaining. All who could walk were driven in with blows from the broad part of the cutlaſſes of the murderers. The Biſhop of *Saintes* having his leg broke, was carried in and laid on a couch.

couch. The director of this new manœuvre then ſtationed a ſufficient number of aſſaſſins at the foot of the ſteps leading to the garden, and had the prieſts led out two by two; as they came to the ſpot their throats were cut. When it was the Biſhop of *Beauvais'* turn, he was called from the altar, at the foot of which he was kneeling; he roſe, went, and died. The Biſhop of *Saintes* was one of the laſt called. The National Gendarmes ſtanding round his couch prevented his being ſeen, and ſeemed willing to ſave him; but theſe wretches, though equal in number to the aſſaſſins, and better armed, ſuffered him to be carried away. To his murderers, who ordered him to follow them, he ſaid, "I have no objection "to go and die like the reſt, but you ſee "the condition I am in, one of my legs is "broken; I beg you will aſſiſt me in go-"ing." Two brigands took him under the arms and led him to execution.

At half after ſeven in the evening the maſſacre of the prieſts drawing to an end, either from there remaining but few victims to be ſlaughtered, or from the executioners being tired, the doors of the church were opened to the people, that they might ſanction,

tion, at leaſt by their preſence, the horrible crimes that had been perpetrated, and inſure impunity. A man advancing from the crowd towards the aſſaſſins, dared to ſpeak to them of humanity, and by flattering them ſucceeded in ſaving ſome of the prieſts remaining, whom he made paſs behind him *. "The people," ſaid he, "are al-"ways juſt in their vengeance, and the "prieſts are wretches, who, death ex-"cepted, deſerve every kind of puniſh-"ment; but the law requires that they "ſhould be tried." The number of thoſe ſaved by this ſpeech, and of thoſe who eſcaped by ſcaling the walls of the garden, amounted in all to thirty-four: there were 151 maſſacred, and ſome laymen ſhut up in the Carmes ſhared the ſame fate. At the ſeminary of St. Firmin the number of the prieſts was 88, of whom only 15 eſcaped the martyrdom.

* It was from the prieſts thus ſaved that theſe facts were made known to a French Journaliſt (*Peltier*) who publiſhed them in London in the beginning of the year 1793. The accuracy of the intereſting narrative he gave of them having been ſince confirmed to me by an eye witneſs, I thought it incumbent upon me to report them here.

Theſe horrible events, firſt announced by *Tallien*, and afterwards by *Danton*, in the ſpeeches they made in the Aſſembly, were not the unforeſeen effects of a popular commotion, or of a ſpontaneous inſurrection of the brigands, but the conſequences of a plan abſolutely ſettled ſeveral days before; for the grave-digger of the pariſh of St. Sulpice had received an aſſignat of an hundred crowns in advance to prepare the pit at Monrouge, where the dead bodies were carried the next day in ten tumbrels. *Danton*, *Robeſpierre*, *Marat*, *Tallien*, and ſome other Members of the Commune, were the authors of this plan, and the principal directors of the execution of it. Three or four hundred villains ſelected from among the Marſeillois and Federates were their inſtruments. The people were preſent at none of the maſſacres but the laſt committed at the Carmes; and we have ſeen that they appeared there only to put an end to them: they did not go into the ſeminary of St. Firmin at the time the prieſts were butchered there in the dormitories, cells, &c.; they ſaw only thoſe who were thrown alive out of the windows, and murdered with axes in the ſtreets by the aſſaſſins on the outſide. My hand refuſes the

the taſk of entering farther into the details of all theſe horrors, which the more faithfully they are painted become the leſs credible.

The Aſſembly, although by a great variety of private communications they knew the horrors that were carried on, affected not to believe them, as they had received no official information of them, and ſpent a great part of this Sitting in paſſing the decree ordaining the ſale of the property of Emigrants that had been or that ſhould be ſequeſtered. It was not till eight o'clock at night that ſome Municipal officers appeared at the Bar, and then barely ſtated that crowds were collecting round the priſons, and that the people ſeemed determined to force the gates of them*. The Aſſembly ſaw no remedy for it but that of charging ſix of their Members *to go and ſpeak to the people, and reſtore tranquillity*. Accordingly, theſe Commiſſioners went, and, after an abſence of two hours, returned and reported that, having with great difficulty made their way to the gates of the Abbaye, they endeavoured

* Not a ſingle word did they ſay of the maſſacre of the Prieſts already perpetrated.

deavoured to ſpeak to the people, but finding they could not make themſelves heard they retired, and that the darkneſs of the night prevented their ſeeing what was paſſing. On this report the Aſſembly, who at the time were not ignorant that the maſſacre of the Prieſts had been completed, and that that of the other priſoners had been begun for ſeveral hours, took no meaſure to put a ſtop to it*, and broke up their Sitting as uſual at eleven o'clock at night, leaving in the Hall only the Commiſſioners whoſe turn it was to paſs the night there.

At one o'clock in the morning theſe Commiſſioners, hearing that the maſſacre of the priſoners was continued, wrote to the Commune for preciſe information on the ſubject, and the Commune ſent three of their Members, *Truchot*, *Guiraud*, and *Tallien*, to let them know what was paſſing. One of them

* They were not ignorant that that very afternoon ſome brigands, who were carrying about in triumph the body of M. *de Montmorin*, which they had empaled, attempted to preſent it at their Bar. Beſides, the Abbé *Sicard*, the inſtructor of the deaf and dumb, who had eſcaped the maſſacre through the bold zeal of one of his friends, wrote to the Aſſembly to inform them of the danger he had been in, and to make his deliverer known to them.

ſtated

ſtated that moſt of the priſons were empty, that about 400 priſoners had periſhed; that he had opened the priſons of *La Force* and St. Pelagie, and let out all the priſoners, and that he had likewiſe reſcued twenty-four women, among whom were Mademoiſelle *de Tourzel* and Madame *de St. Brice*, the Queen's waiting-woman; but that finding himſelf in danger, he was obliged to retire to ſave himſelf. *Tallien* added that the priſoners who had been confined in the Abbaye on account of the 10th of Auguſt, and the forgers of aſſignats had been all put to death except eleven; that all the priſoners at the Châtelet had likewiſe been ſacrificed; that the Commiſſioners whom the Commune had ſent to that priſon to appeaſe the people had been in the greateſt danger, without being able to do any thing; that the Commiſſioners who had gone to the priſon of *La Force* had not been more fortunate; and that the Commune were going to ſend another deputation.

If this infamous Commune, who had 30,000 National Guards at their command, had not intended, had not ordered the maſſacre of the priſoners, would they have contented themſelves with oppoſing the aſſaſ-

ſins with deputations and harangues? It was ſoldiers, it was bayonets that ought to have been ſent againſt this handful of brigands, who would have inſtantly vaniſhed. It was doubtleſs to avert this reproach that *Tallien* alleged *that the duty at the barriers required ſo great a number of men, that there was not a ſufficient number left to keep order**: but what duty could be more urgent than that of ſaving the lives of thouſands of innocent victims? And with what face did this villain dare to ſpeak of the duty of the barriers, that barbarous meaſure thought of by the directors of the maſſacres, to prevent any of the perſons whom they had proſcribed from eſcaping by flight the weapons of the aſſaſſins? *Tallien* did not here bridle his audacity, he dared to make ſome kind of apology for the maſſacres, which, that I may not be ſuſpected of exaggeration, I ſhall report in his own words. "Our "Commiſſioners," ſaid he, "did all they "could to prevent the *Hotel de la Force*

* There were fifty-two barriers at Paris, not one of which required a hundred men to guard it, ſo that the Commune had ſtill more than 25,000 men to ſend againſt three or four hundred aſſaſſins.

"from

" from being pillaged, but they were not " able to ſtop *the juſt vengeance of the* " *people*; for it ought to be told, it has " fallen on forgers of aſſignats: what called " forth their vengeance was, *there were* " *only known villains in the priſon.*"

Guiraud, the worthy colleague of *Tallien*, obſerved alſo in praiſe of the people, that in exerciſing their vengeance they attended to juſtice; that at the Châtelet ſeveral priſoners had been enlarged, amidſt the ſhouts of *Vive la nation!* that at the *Pont-neuf* the people had ſearched the dead bodies, and given in the money and pocket books*; and that a man detected ſtealing a handkerchief had been put to death. " The people†," added he, " organized a tribunal in the " priſons, compoſed of twelve perſons. " After examining the regiſter, and putting " divers queſtions to the priſoner, one of " the Judges placed his hand on his head, " ſaying, *Do you think in your conſcience* " *that we may releaſe the gentleman?* The " word *releaſe* was his condemnation; and

* Theſe effects were all ſtolen by the Commiſſioners of the Commune, who had taken charge of them.

† That is to ſay, the aſſaſſins.

" if the anſwer was *yes*, the accuſed was " ſuffered to go; when haſtening away he " was executed by the pikes ready for him " at the gate. If he was pronounced inno- " cent, the ſhouts of *Vive la nation!* ſuc- " ceeded, and the accuſed was ſet at li- " berty." This *Guiraud* likewiſe gave notice that the priſons of the *Palais* were abſolutely empty, and that very few priſoners had eſcaped death.

On theſe reports the Commiſſioners of the Aſſembly for the night convoked the Members at three o'clock in the morning, but there was not a ſufficient number till nine to do buſineſs. A letter was then read from *Petion*, ſtating that he had not been made acquainted with the events of the night till it was too late to be of any uſe. Nobody contradicted this falſehood, although it was generally known that the events of the night were but the ſequel of thoſe of the day before, and that the maſſacres which had commenced at three o'clock in the afternoon of the preceding day were ſtill continued with unabated fury. Nor did the Aſſembly determine upon any thing, and this Sitting was ſpent in reading letters received from the Commiſſioners who had been ſent to the armies

armies and to the Departments, in decreeing ſome articles of the criminal code, in receiving patriotic gifts, and in debating on what was to be done with the Deputy *Jouneau*, againſt whom a decree of accuſation had paſſed for having given one of his colleagues (*Grangeneuve*) a box on the ear. He had been ſent to the Abbaye, where he found favour in the ſight of the aſſaſſins, and now appeared at the Bar eſcorted by the brigands who had delivered him*.

During this infamous ſupineneſs the Aſſembly received a letter from the Commiſſioners of the Council of the Commune, dated at the Temple, the contents of which were as follows: "The ſanctuary of *Louis* "XVI. is threatened. *Reſiſtance would* "*be impolitic and dangerous, perhaps* "*unjuſt.* Harmony between the Repre- "ſentatives of the people and the Com- "miſſioners of the Commune might pre- "vent exceſs. We requeſt that you will "have the goodneſs to appoint ſix Members

* The Aſſembly decreed that the Committee-room ſhould be his place of confinement, and that he ſhould remain there on his parole of honour.

"to

" to act conjointly with us in calming " the effervescence of the people."

It is a horrid fact, that the Assembly heard without the least emotion these dreadful words, which announced not only that the lives of the King and the Royal Family were in danger, but that the Commissioners appointed to guard their Majesties were determined to make no resistance against the assassins. They did not dare to refuse their request, but they sent them some of the greatest villains among them, who were much more disposed to second than to obstruct the attempts of the regicides*. The Assembly having appointed them broke up the Sitting.

The massacres continued at the gates of the prisons, and the people whom the Commune dared to accuse of thus exercising their *just vengeance* took no part in them: they were merely spectators, and if they did interfere sometimes, it was to intercede for some of the victims. An incident as

* Five of these Deputies, *Le Croix*, *Bazire*, *Choudieu*, *Thuriot*; and *Chabot*, were afterwards Members of the Convention, and at the trial of the King voted for his death.

sublime

ſublime as it was affecting touched the hearts of all: *Elizabeth Cazotte* piercing the crowd of aſſaſſins at the moment they were going to kill her father, threw her arms round the neck of the venerable old man, crying out, "You ſhall not touch my father "till you have pierced my heart." A general ſhout for mercy proceeded from the people, and *Cazotte* was ſaved. The ſpectators, the very aſſaſſins, forgetting their trade, ſurrounded the father and daughter, and loaded them with careſſes. "Tell us "your enemies," ſaid they eagerly, "that "we may do you juſtice." The good old man replied, "How ſhould I know them, "as I have never injured any man*?"

A ſimilar incident of filial piety occurred a few minutes after and with ſimilar ſucceſs, for to the courageous affection of his daughter Monſieur *de Sombreuil* owed his life.

* About nine days after he was again arreſted, on account of his correſpondence with M. *de la Porte*, publiſhed in the collection of papers relative to the King's trial. His daughter followed him to priſon in ſpite of the ſoldiers who went to arreſt him. He was condemned to die, and on the day of his execution ſhe was taken from him and confined in another priſon, leſt ſhe ſhould again ſucceed in ſaving him.

The

The Princeſs *de Tarente*, now Ducheſs of *la Tremouille*, ſaved herſelf by an effort of heroiſm. Being brought before the tribunal of the murderers, after waiting for her turn without cloſing her eyes for forty hours, amidſt the ſhrieks of the victims under execution, and the agonies of thoſe remaining to be maſſacred, ſhe recovered all her energy when ſhe found that the queſtions which were put to her tended to obtain anſwers criminating the Queen. She was told ſhe ſhould die if ſhe did not confeſs the pretended plots of which her Majeſty was accuſed; but neither her courage nor fidelity was to be ſhaken by threats. She ſo completely refuted all their calumnies on which ſhe was examined, that the opinion of all the hearers, decidedly given, compelled her Judges to declare her innocent. She had, however, ſcarcely reached the gates of the Abbaye when the agents of the tribunal went and demanded her in order to carry her back to priſon till ampler information ſhould be obtained. She refuſed to return with them, and demanded immediate death or liberty. The people, tranſported with admiration, proclaimed her innocence and led her home in triumph. Some of the

aſſaſſins mixed with thoſe who eſcorted her, and then returned to their poſt.

While theſe ſtriking inſtances of courage and virtue moderated, at leaſt for ſome moments, the fury of the aſſaſſins employed at the Abbaye, and ſeemed to awaken ſome feelings of humanity in their ſavage ſouls, ſtreams of blood continued to flow at the gates of the other priſons of the Capital, where the barbarity of the murderers was carried to the greateſt exceſs. We have already ſeen that the Commiſſioners of the Commune had ſent four-and-twenty women out of the priſon of *La Force*: this was telling the aſſaſſins what they were to do, and condemning thoſe who were not ſet at liberty to certain death. Of that number was the unfortunate Princeſs *de Lamballe*, whoſe ſituation was the more hopeleſs, as the tribunal that decided the fate of the priſoners at the *Hotel de la Force* was not compoſed, as at the Abbaye, of Judges taken from among the fatigued executioners already ſatiated with blood, but from among villains a thouſand times more wicked, who were the cauſe of its being ſhed, and of whom the aſſaſſins were but the inſtruments. Here, it was by two Municipal officers dreſ-

ſed

ſed in their ſcarfs that the priſoners were examined and judged. Thoſe who were on the ſervice when the Princeſs *de Lamballe* was called, were two of the moſt violent demagogues of the Jacobin Club, *Hebert* and *L'Huillier*. When ſhe was brought before this frightful tribunal, ſeeing herſelf ſurrounded by men whoſe faces, hands, clothes, and weapons were covered with blood, and hearing the ſhrieks of the wretches whom the executioners were murdering in the ſtreets, ſhe fell into a ſwoon. As ſhe began to recover her ſenſes by the exertions of one of her waiting-women who had accompanied her, ſhe was again thrown into the ſame ſtate by the new cries that caught her ear. When at length ſhe was able to ſpeak, her Judges aſked her if ſhe knew any thing of the plots of the Court on the 10th of Auguſt. She replied, "I am ignorant "whether there were any plots on the 10th "of Auguſt, but I know that I was not ac- "quainted with any." She was then told to ſwear liberty and equality, and hatred to the King, the Queen, and Royalty. "I "will readily ſwear the two firſt," ſaid ſhe, "but I cannot ſwear the laſt; it is not in "my heart." A perſon ſtanding by whiſpered,

pered, *Swear; if you do not ſwear you are dead.* She made no reply, but raiſed her hands, and covering her face with them made a ſtep towards the gate. The villain who queſtioned her then pronounced the form of death: *Let the lady be releaſed**. Two men ſeized her by the arms and dragged her out. She had no ſooner paſſed the threſhold of the gate than ſhe received a cut with a ſword on the back of her head. The monſters who had hold of her were forcing her to wade through blood and tread over dead bodies to go to the place marked for her own, but ſhe could not ſupport herſelf and ſhe ſwooned away, on which ſhe was ſtabbed with pikes. She was immediately ſtripped of all her clothes, and her naked body remained expoſed for more than two hours to the brutal inſpection of the populace, and to all the horrible inſults which the moſt ſavage barbarity, united with the filthieſt impurity, could deviſe. About noon the barbarians determined to cut off her head and tear out her heart. They loaded a cannon with one of her legs; the reſt of the body was given up to a band of can-

* *Qu'on elargiſſe Madame.*

nibals,

nibals, who dragged it about the ſtreets. They who had the head and the heart carried them about on pikes, and firſt to the Abbey St. Antoine, where the Princeſs *de Lamballe* had reſided ſome time. They preſented them to the view of Madame *de Beauveau*, who had been the Abbeſs of this Abbey, and an intimate friend of Madame *de Lamballe*'s. Theſe aſſaſſins then joining thoſe who were dragging the mutilated body of the Princeſs, went together to the Temple. At their approach, the Commiſſioners of the Commune on duty at the Temple, conſulted with thoſe of the Aſſembly who had juſt arrived, and determined not to employ force to repel people: they had cauſed the arms of the guards to be examined, to ſee that they were not loaded, and ordered them to ſheath their bayonets.

It was now half paſt one o'clock, and the Royal Family were at dinner. On hearing the drums and the cries of the people, they aroſe from table, and went into the Queen's chamber. The faithful *Clery* went down ſtairs to dine with a man named *Tiſon* and his wife, who were employed as ſpies at the Temple. They had ſcarcely taken their ſeats, when the bloody head of the Princeſs *de Lamballe*

Lamballe was held to the window. *Tiſon's* wife gave a violent ſcream, which the murderers ſuppoſed to proceed from the Queen, and they expreſſed their enjoyment of the thought in horrrid burſts of laughter. The Commiſſioners at this time cauſed a tri-coloured ribbon to be hung acroſs the gate of the Temple, with this inſcription upon it: *Citizens, you who with a juſt vengeance can unite the love of order, reſpect this barrier; it is neceſſary to our ſuperintendence, and to our reſponſibility.* They then entered into a parley with the leaders of the aſſaſſins, who propoſed that they ſhould be admitted into the Temple with the head of Madame *de Lamballe*, on promiſing to uſe no violence againſt the priſoners, but merely to ſhow them the head, that they might ſee what had been the conſequence of their plots. On ſome difficulties ſtated to them by the Commiſſioners, they lowered their demand to being ſuffered to go only into the Court of the Temple, and the King and Queen being placed at the window to ſee the head. At this ſtage of the negociation two Municipal Officers went into the apartment where the Royal Family were, and on the King's aſking if his Family were in

ſafety, they ſaid, " It has been reported " that you and your Family are gone from " the Tower, and the people are calling for " you to appear at the window; but we " ſhall not ſuffer it, for they ought to ſhow " more confidence in their magiſtrates."

In the mean time the ſhouts and tumults increaſed, and inſults addreſſed to the Queen were diſtinctly heard, when another Municipal Officer came in, followed by four men deputed by the populace to aſcertain whether the Royal Family was or was not in the Tower. One of them, accoutred in the uniform of the National Guard, inſiſted that the priſoners ſhould ſhow themſelves at the windows, but the Municipal Officers would not allow it; on which the fellow ſaid to the Queen in the moſt brutal manner, " They want to keep you from ſeeing *De* " *Lamballe*'s head, which has been brought " to you, that you may know how the " people avenge themſelves upon their ty- " rants: I adviſe you to ſhow yourſelf, if " you would not have them come up here." At theſe words the Queen fainted away. Madame *Elizabeth* aſſiſted *Clery* in placing her on a chair, while her children, melting into tears, endeavoured by their careſſes to bring

bring her to herſelf. As the wretch ſtood looking on, the King ſaid to him in a firm voice, "We are prepared for every thing, "Sir, but you might have diſpenſed with "relating this horrible diſaſter to the Queen." He made no reply, but went away with his companions.

The Queen coming to herſelf, removed with her family to Madame *Elizabeth*'s chamber, where the noiſe of the populace was leſs heard. The aſſaſſins were ſtill demanding that the door ſhould be opened, and threatening to force it. *Clery* ſtanding at a blind of one of the windows of the Queen's apartment, heard *Daunou*, the Municipal Officer, haranguing the brigands. "The head of *Antoinette*," ſaid he, "does "not belong to you; the Departments "have their reſpective rights to it; France "has confided theſe great criminals to the "care of the city of Paris, and it is your "part to aſſiſt in ſecuring them until the "National juſtice takes vengeance for the "people." *Clery* alſo ſaw the monſter who carried the Princeſs *de Lamballe*'s head on a pike, ſtanding on the rubbiſh of ſome houſes which were pulled down for the purpoſe of inſulating the Tower; and near

him another wretch, with the heart of that unfortunate Princeſs on the point of a ſabre *.

At length the immenſe mob that beſieged the Temple left it to follow the head of the Princeſs *de Lamballe* to the *Palais-Royal*. The pike that bore it was fixed before the Duke of *Orleans'* window juſt as he was going to dinner. It is ſaid that he looked at this horrid ſight without horror, went into the dining room, ſat down to table, and helped his company without ſaying a word. His ſilence and coolneſs left it doubtful whether the aſſaſſins, in preſenting him this bloody trophy, intended to offer him an inſult, or to pay him homage. Some writers, judging from the known protection granted by the Duke of *Orleans* to the perſon named *Rotundo*, who boaſted to have taken a part in the maſſacre of Madame *de Lamballe*, have aſſerted that the Duke had ordered her aſſaſſination, in revenge for her having ſhut

* The paſſages in the three preceding pages relative to the barbarity at the Temple, are taken from the intereſting Journal publiſhed in the year 1798 in London by *Clery*. See his Journal, page 28, French Edit. p. 32. Eng. ed.

her

her doors againſt him after the outrages of the 5th of October 1789, and that the ſettlement of 100,000 crowns, which ſhe received out of the fortune of the Ducheſs of *Orleans*, might revert to him; but theſe conjectures are too uncertain to be admitted by Hiſtory, which will have no occaſion to ſuppoſe crimes for the Duke of *Orleans*; thoſe that have really ſullied his life are ſufficiently numerous and ſufficiently execrable to attach eternal ignominy to his name. It is probable, that if he had choſen to employ his popularity, his credit, and all the means he then poſſeſſed, in favour of the Princeſs *de Lamballe*, he might have ſaved her, and he was much in the wrong for not trying; but that, bad as it is, is far removed from the execrable crime of having ordered her aſſaſſination.

The brigands who had detached themſelves from the priſons of *La Force* to give the Pariſians the horrid ſight which I have juſt been deſcribing, had left a ſufficient number of aſſaſſins there to prevent the maſſacre of the priſoners from being ſuſpended; nor did it ſtop a moment while a victim remained to be ſacrificed. The hoſpital of Bicêtre was the place where the

carnage continued the longeſt, and was the moſt bloody. There the aſſaſſins, finding the uſe of ſwords, pikes, and guns too ſlow and fatiguing, employed cannon. They collected a certain number of priſoners in a court, and fired upon them with canniſter ſhot. The number of unfortunate perſons who periſhed there has not been aſcertained; the moſt moderate computation ſtates it to be above five thouſand*. I here conclude this very ſhort deſcription of the bloody ſcenes which polluted the Capital from Sun-

* To this number is to be added that of the perſons maſſacred in the other priſons and houſes of confinement in Paris; viz.

244 At the monaſtery of the Carmes, and ſeminary of St. Firmin.
180 At the Abbaye, St. Germain.
73 At the cloiſter of the Bernardins.
45 At the Hoſpital of the Salpetriere.
85 At the Conciergerie.
214 At the Châtelet.
164 At the Hotel de la Force.

1005 Total, without, however, reckoning thoſe who periſhed in the Courts of the Salpetriere, thoſe who were drowned at La Force, and all who were dragged from the dungeons of La Conciergerie and of the Châtelet, to be maſſacred on the Pont-au-charge.

day

day, the 2d of September, to the Friday following, and I return to the Aſſembly, whom I left quietly breaking up at four o'clock in the afternoon, to go to dinner, without having taken any meaſures whatever to put an end to the maſſacres.

The Aſſembly reſumed their Sitting at four o'clock in the afternoon, and attended at firſt only to the reading of addreſſes, the receiving of patriotic gifts, and hearing deputations of National Volunteers, who came to aſk for arms to go to the frontiers. They were rouſed from this ſtate of apathy by the Miniſter, who came to inform them of the taking of Verdun. He obſerved, that it was not upon their armies, but upon inteſtine diſorders that the enemies had depended for ſubduing France; that ideas were ſpread of the moſt alarming kind, and the moſt calculated to realize their hopes; that private animoſities were kindled; that thoſe who had ſigned certain petitions were proſcribed; that at the frontiers the Pariſians were accuſed of wiſhing to have the Duke of *York* as King; and that at Paris the Legiſlative Body were accuſed of wiſhing to re-eſtabliſh *Louis* XVI. upon the Throne. He invited the Aſſembly to remain ſitting

the whole night, to write an addreſs to the people in order to undeceive them, to obtain an account of the ſituation of Paris, and to call out all the National Guard.

The Aſſembly were the more alarmed at the news of the taking of Verdun, as, a few days before, their fears on the taking of Longwy had been quieted only by the violent indignation diſplayed by the inhabitants of Verdun on that occaſion, and by their repeated oaths of burying themſelves all under the ruins of their ramparts, rather than capitulate. Far from imagining that a patriotiſm ſo ardent could vaniſh in a ſiege of three days, and after a bombardment of only twelve hours, they expected from it prodigies of valour, and of courſe a reſiſtance ſufficiently prolonged to give *Dumourier* time to come up and raiſe the ſiege. The Commandant of the place (*Beaurepaire*), the only man true to his oath, ſhot himſelf in deſpair; but Champagne was open to the armies of the enemy, who were only ſixty leagues from Paris; and the plaudits and overſtrained praiſes laviſhed by the Aſſembly on the pretended heroiſm of this uſeleſs ſuicide, but ill concealed the panic with which they were ſtruck; and no one was deceived by

by the affected indignation they diſplayed in calling to order one of their Members, who had been ſo indiſcreet as to invite the Aſſembly not to ſuffer themſelves to be dejected. The terror of the people ſhowed itſelf with a violence truly alarming. The meſſenger who brought the news of the taking of Verdun narrowly eſcaped being maſſacred; he was carried before the Committee of Inſpection, who, after having examined him, ordered him into cuſtody, and haſtened to inform the Aſſembly that he had contradicted himſelf on ſeveral points. He was produced the next day at the Bar, where he gave an account totally different to the news he had brought. He aſſerted that *Dumourier*, finding that the enemy intended to cut off his communication with the garriſon of Verdun, had practiſed the ableſt manœuvre; that he had tranſported his artillery over the whole chain of the Mont-dieu, in order to come out upon the plains of Argonne; that his object was to get to Varennes, where he was to join *Kellerman*, ſo that he did not doubt that the enemy would be repulſed with the greateſt advantage. "We have no "news," added he, "of Verdun; and as

" for me, I would bet a hundred to one that " that town is not taken."

The only object of this groſs artifice was to tranquillize the people, and gain time to prepare them for the taking of Verdun, the news of which, officially ſent, neither could be nor was doubted; accordingly they did not heſitate to adopt the meaſures propoſed to them by the Miniſter at War. They ordered by the ſame decree, that the Executive Power ſhould give an account, in the courſe of the day, of the meaſures taken to haſten the departure of the troops who were to repair to the different camps in the way to Paris, and to fortify the heights which covered that town *. This decree made no mention of the maſſacre of the priſoners, and merely declared that the Municipality, the Council-General of the Commune, the Preſidents of the Sections, the Commandant General of the National Guard, and the

* This famous camp of Paris, ridiculous monument of the terror that ſwayed the Pariſians and the Aſſembly, was attended with an immenſe expence, was daily the object of ſome new decree, and would not have delayed the entry of an hoſtile army into the Capital a ſingle hour.

Commanders

Commanders of each Battalion, ſhould, in the courſe of the day, repair to the Bar, to take individually the oath of maintaining, by every means in their power, liberty, equality, and the ſafety of perſons and property. It was likewiſe ordered that the Preſidents of the Sections ſhould cauſe all the citizens within their bounds to take the ſame oath *: but could the Aſſembly, who had ſo often violated all their oaths, flatter themſelves that thoſe which they ordered would be more reſpected? Could they expect any effect from proclamations perpetually in oppoſition to their own conduct? The Miniſters, to whom they had given their whole confidence and an unlimited power, almoſt all trembled before the Commune, who denounced them, ſummoned them, and accuſed thoſe who ſeconded their crimes but feebly, of treaſon, perfidy, or incapacity. *Danton*, the only one as wicked as themſelves, had uſurped, and by means of villany preſerved the plenitude of the

* This oath was taken in all the Aſſemblies of the Sections; but the Federates, Marſeillois, and *citizen-aſſaſſins* were not preſent, but continued ſlaughtering priſoners while any remained.

Revolu-

Revolutionary Executive Power. *Roland*, more violently attacked than the reſt of his colleagues by the Commune, whoſe authority he had dared to deny, and whoſe uſurpations he had denounced*, filled the public papers daily with complaints, and with defences of himſelf. Some paſſages of the letter which he wrote to the Aſſembly on that occaſion (September 3d) will give a juſt idea of the character of that Revolutionary Miniſter, whoſe virtues the factious have ſo greatly celebrated.

" On the 10th of Auguſt," ſaid he, " it " is evident that we were loſt. The Court, " who had been long prepared, were wait- " ing the hour to conſummate all their " treaſons, to diſplay the ſtandard of death " over Paris, and to reign there by terror. " The ſentiment of the people, always juſt " and prompt when their opinion is not " corrupted, foreſaw the period appointed " for their deſtruction, and rendered it fatal " to the conſpirators. It is in the nature of

* They iſſued a writ of arreſt againſt him on the 2d of September, and 200 brigands went in a riotous manner to his houſe; fortunately for him he was not at home, and they contented themſelves with arreſting one of his Secretaries.

" things

" things and of the human heart that vic-
" tory ſhould be attended with ſome ex-
" ceſſes. The ſea agitated by a violent
" ſtorm roars long after the tempeſt ceaſes;
" but every thing has its bounds. If diſ-
" organization becomes a habit, if men
" zealous, but without knowledge or means,
" pretend to interfere daily in the adminiſ-
" tration and impede its progreſs; if, on
" the ſupport of ſome popular favour, ob-
" tained by great ardour, and maintained
" by greater talk, they ſpread diſtruſt, pub-
" liſh denunciations, excite fury, and dic-
" tate proſcriptions, the Government *is* no
" more than a ſhadow, it is nothing, and
" *the good man* placed at the helm of af-
" fairs ought to withdraw the moment he
" finds that he cannot manage it. *The*
" *Proviſional Commune has rendered great*
" *ſervices*, they ſtand in no need of my
" teſtimony in that reſpect, but I ſay it
" through an effuſion of heart. The Pro-
" viſional Commune now err by continuing
" to exerciſe a Revolutionary Power, which
" ſhould never be but momentary that it
" may not be deſtructive, and they are pre-
" paring great calamities for you if they
" longer delay confining themſelves within
" their

" their juſt limits. Yeſterday was a day, " over the events of which a veil muſt per- " haps be left. I know that the people, " though terrible in their vengeance, ſtill " maintain in it a ſort of juſtice; they do " not make victims of all who preſent " themſelves to their fury, which they di- " rect againſt thoſe whom they ſuppoſe to " have been too long ſpared by the ſword of " juſtice, and whom the ſtate of things per- " ſuades them ought to be ſacrificed with- " out delay; but I know it is eaſy for wicked " men, for traitors to abuſe that efferveſ- " cence. The ſecret enemies of the people " may make uſe of their agitation to injure " their beſt friends, their moſt powerful " defenders: *the example is already ſet;* " *let them ſhudder and ſtop* !* Juſt anger, " juſt indignation puſhed to its height, " gives riſe to proſcriptions which at firſt " fall only on the guilty, but in which error " or private paſſion ſoon involves *the juſt* " *man.*"

In his addreſs to the Pariſians, publiſhed at the ſame time, he ſays, " I admired the

* Theſe words allude to the writ of arreſt which the Commune had iſſued againſt him the day before.

" 10th

" 10th of Auguſt, I ſhuddered at the conſe-
" quences of the 2d of September. I
" readily conceived what the long and de-
" ceived patience of the people, *what their*
" *juſtice* muſt produce. I have not incon-
" ſiderately blamed a firſt but terrible im-
" impulſe, yet I thought its continuance
" ſhould be avoided, and that they who
" ſtrove to prolong it were deceived by their
" imagination, or by cruel and ill-diſpoſed
" men."

This ſelf-qualified *good man* admired the 10th of Auguſt, and endeavoured to juſtify them by imputing to the Court horrible plots which he well knew had never exiſted. This ſelf-qualified *juſt man*, this *virtuous philoſopher*, this *philanthropiſt*, found nothing to blame in the maſſacres of the 2d of September but their continuance, and dared to aſſert that the firſt proſcriptions had fallen only upon criminals*: but to complete the diſguſt created by this being, who was as ſtupid as he was impudent, we muſt read in the ſame pamphlet that contains

* We have ſeen that the firſt victims of the maſſacre of the 2d of September were the Biſhops and the Prieſts that were confined in the Convent of the Carmes and in the priſons of the Abbaye.

theſe atrocious impoſtures and ſcandalous vauntings, the picture he draws of himſelf in the following terms:

" Born with ſome ſtrength of character, " I am indebted to the good examples ſet " before my youth in the courſe of a well- " judged education, for directing it entirely " upon the moſt rigid principles of mo- " rality. The general intereſt and the ne- " ceſſity of continually ſacrificing paſſions, " deſires, and whatever is perſonal, to that " ſacred intereſt, were then laid before me, " and are ever preſent to my view. I de- " ſpiſe fortune, becauſe I have learned to " be happy without it. I am awake to " glory, but I have never put it in competi- " tion with virtue. The teſtimony of con- " ſcience is neceſſary to me; with that I can " forego every thing, and I can ſubſtitute " nothing in its place. I love liberty and " equality with the enthuſiaſm of a ſuſ- " ceptible being who conſiders them as the " ſource of happineſs upon earth, with the " conſtancy and tenaciouſneſs of a thinking " man who has eſtimated the advantages of " them: I have profeſſed the principles of " them from the earlieſt period of my life; " I did it with firmneſs and energy under

" the

" the reign of deſpotiſm; I ſacrificed my
" advancement in life to them*. Let my
" life be ſcanned and my works be read: I
" defy malice to find in the former one ſin-
" gle action, or diſcover in the latter a ſen-
" timent of which I might not be proud.
" I ſaw the Revolution with tranſport; it
" coincided with the wiſhes I had long
" formed for the unhappy claſs of mankind;
" it deſtroyed abuſes of which I have ſo
" often complained; I have ſupported it,
" for my part, with my courage and con-
" ſtant efforts, and it has led me to the
" Miniſtry. All France can vouch for the
" integrity of my adminiſtration, the vigour
" of my principles, and the uniformity of
" my conduct. I do not love power, nor
" have I ſought it. Sixty years of a la-
" borious life, and I am bold to ſay, the
" habit of thoſe virtues that dignify retire-
" ment make me prefer it to an agitated ex-
" iſtence†."

* It is difficult to give credit to this ſacrifice when it is known that from the very petty office of inſpector of manufactures, with a hundred Louis a year, *Roland* was advanced to the Miniſtry.

† *Roland*'s letter to the Aſſembly and addreſs to the Pariſians are to be found in the Moniteur of the 5th and of the 13th of September.

The juſter pen of hiſtory in deſcribing the character of *Roland* will repreſent him only as a wretched empiric, as dull as he was arrogant, a kind of Revolutionary automaton, who never ſpoke or wrote but as his wife dictated, nor ever acted but as ſhe directed.

The journaliſts hired by the Commune undertook not only to juſtify the continuance of the maſſacres which *Roland* had thought proper to cenſure, but likewiſe to prove them indiſpenſably neceſſary. For this purpoſe, they had recourſe to the groſſeſt impoſtures: they aſſerted, "that the police had had intelligence by private notices, by public avowals, and by ſigned denunciations, that in the courſe of the night the priſons were to have been opened to allow the conſpirators to eſcape, that the other perſons in confinement, of whom there was a conſiderable number, were to have received arms, ſpread themſelves through the town, forced the guard houſes, diſarmed the citizens, and after joining ſome other brigands to have made their way into houſes to pillage and burn them; that on the 2d of September theſe alarms being increaſed, the people were exaſperated

" perated to the higheſt decree, and took " the ſudden reſolution of preventing new " plots by putting all the villains to death; " that the Municipality had endeavoured in " vain to ſtop them, and had been com- " pelled to confine themſelves to meaſures " of caution, that the innocent at leaſt " might not be confounded with the " guilty*."

Every word of this account was a falſehood. Thoſe ſigned denunciations, thoſe private notices, thoſe public avowals ſpoken of, were never referred to, or known to any body; the efforts of the Municipality to ſtop the maſſacres, and their meaſures to prevent the innocent from being confounded with the guilty, were equally unknown†; but many eye-witneſſes have atteſted that the people were merely ſpectators of the maſſacre of the priſoners, and it is well known that the Commune who had ordered it intended

* See the Moniteur of the 6th of September.

† On the 4th of September, after the maſſacre of the priſoners in the Abbaye, and while the aſſaſſins were putting to death in the other priſons of Paris all the perſons whom the Commune had confined there, one of the Members expreſſed himſelf at the bar of the Aſſem-

tended that it ſhould be general, not only in Paris, but throughout the kingdom. Were there any doubts remaining on that head they would be completely removed by the horrible circular letter which the Committee of Inſpection of the Commune of Paris wrote, on the 3d of September, to all the Departments in the kingdom, counterſigned by the Miniſter *Danton*. I ſhall inſert only the beginning of it.

" The Commune of Paris haſten to in-
" form their brothers of all the Depart-
" ments, that a number of the ferocious
" conſpirators confined in the priſons have
" been put to death by the people; an act
" of juſtice which appeared to them indiſ-
" penſable to reſtrain by terror thoſe legions
" of traitors lurking within their walls at
" the moment that the citizens were going
" to march againſt the enemy; and, no
" doubt, the whole nation, after the long
" ſeries of treaſons which have led them

bly in theſe words: " Legiſlators, the priſons are " empty; innocence has eſcaped the ſword of the peo- " ple's vengeance. There were innocent citizens under " arreſt, their lives were in danger, and they applied " to us; we flew to their aſſiſtance, we turned the " bayonets aſide, and a tri-coloured ribbon was ſufficient " to ſtop an armed nation."

" to

" to the brink of the abyſs, will be eager " to adopt theſe means ſo neceſſary for the " public ſafety; and all the French will cry, " like the Pariſians, let us march againſt " the enemy, but do not let us leave behind " us theſe brigands to cut the throats of our " wives and children. Brothers and friends, " we expect that a part of you will fly to " our aſſiſtance, and join in repelling the " innumerable legions of the ſatellites of the " deſpots who have conſpired againſt France. " We will together ſave the country, and " ſnatched to you we ſhall owe the glory of " having it from the abyſs."

(Signed) " *The Adminiſtrators of the* " *public ſafety, and Aſſiſ-* " *tant Adminiſtrators* " *united, Pierre Du-* " *plain, Panis, Sergent,* " *Lenfant, Jourdeuil,* " *Marat*—The friend of " the people, *De Forgas,* " *Le Clere, Dufortré,* " *Celly,* appointed by the " Commune, and ſitting " at the houſe of the " Mayor."

" N. B. Our brothers are requeſted to " have this letter printed and ſent to all the " Municipalities within their jurisdiction."

This barbarous letter, which devotes the infamous Commune of Paris to eternal execration, was a death-warrant for the priſoners in all the Municipalities where the Jacobins prevailed*.

The maſſacre of the priſoners of the National Supreme Court was reſerved for the brigands of Paris. The plan of it had been concerted between *Danton* and that atrocious Committee of the Commune, whoſe Members had taken the title of *Adminiſtrators of the Public Safety*. In the latter end of the month of Auguſt, a detachment of Marſeillois, compoſed of two hundred men, repaired to Lonjumeau, whence they wrote to the Aſſembly that they were going to Orleans to conduct the priſoners of the National Supreme Court to Paris. The Aſſembly at firſt forbade this detachment to proceed any farther, and decreed that the priſoners

* At Reims, Meaux, and Lyons, all the priſoners, without exception, were maſſacred. The immenſe number of victims that periſhed at this fatal period will never be exactly aſcertained.

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at Orleans ſhould be removed to Blois. A deputation ſent by the Marſeillois appeared at the Bar to juſtify them, and declared that their deſign was only to go and guard thoſe priſoners *who, it was known, were to be reſcued.* The Aſſembly taking into conſideration theſe pretended alarms, which nothing juſtified, decreed on the report of the Extraordinary Commiſſion of the Twelve, that the Executive Power ſhould immediately ſend a Pariſian force of 1200 men to Orleans to prevent the reſcue of the priſoners of the Supreme Court. Had the object of the Aſſembly been merely the ſecurity of thoſe priſoners, they would have contented themſelves with recommending them to the vigilance of the National Guard of Orleans, who were ſufficiently numerous to guard them; but *Danton* and the Commune were reſolved that they ſhould die; and whether it was that the Aſſembly were ignorant of this horrible deſign, which for ſeveral days had been generally ſuſpected, or that they were ſtill governed by that cowardice which made them adopt all the meaſures propoſed or ſuggeſted by the Commune, they did not dare to reject the propoſal of ſending a body of 1200 men from the Pa-

riſian National guard to Orleans. This detachment, compoſed of the vileſt men of all the battalions, was put under the command of a perſon named *Fournier*, one of the greateſt villains of the Revolution. They were joined at Lonjumeau by the 200 Marſeillois who had halted there, and arrived at Orleans on the 30th of Auguſt. The Supreme Court had juſt condemned to death an old officer named *Dulery*, accuſed of enliſting men for the Princes. The firſt thing the Pariſian troops did was, to detach the 200 Marſeillois to bring the unfortunate *Dulery* from the priſon to the place of execution. After the execution they returned to the priſon, the gates of which they forced with ſwords and piſtols in their hands; and when the jailor refuſed to open the laſt door within, they ſeized him, and would have cut off his head had he not given up his keys. They then ruſhed into all the paſſages and chambers, bellowing the moſt horrid imprecations, chiefly againſt the Duke *de Briſſac* and M. *de Leſſart*, whom they loudly called for. Their object as yet was only to inſult them, and more particularly to lay hands as ſoon as poſſible on all their effects, that they might not give the

the Pariſian brigands time to come and take a part in the pillage; for at the bottom the violent patriotiſm of thoſe villains always turned out to be a love of booty. They robbed the Duke *de Briſſac* of 40,000 livres in aſſignats, and his plate; and ſeized all his papers, which they put into the hands of the Civil Commiſſioner (*Bourdon de la Croſniere*) whom the Commune had attached to this expedition. The other priſoners were alſo robbed, abuſed, and locked up in their rooms, where ſeveral of them were forgotten for ſix-and-thirty hours, during which time they remained without any kind of food.

On the 3d of September, at ſix o'clock in the evening, they were informed, that by a decree of the Aſſembly, paſſed the day before, they were to be removed to Saumur, and that they muſt prepare to ſet out the next morning. The correſpondents and friends whom they had at Orleans immediately furniſhed them with money and ſuch effects as they wanted. This aſſiſtance preſented a new prey to the rapacity of the Pariſian patriots; they omitted nothing to make ſure of it, and the manner in which they proceeded was this: that very evening ſome

ſome ſeditious people mixed with the guard of the priſons, and endeavoured to perſuade them, that as decrees of impeachment for treaſon againſt the nation had been paſſed againſt all the priſoners, they ought not to be treated more favourably than thoſe in the priſons of Paris, and that it was of no uſe to carry villains of that kind any farther. The guard, at that time compoſed of ſome honeſt bourgeois of Orleans, having reſiſted theſe inſinuations, the wretches withdrew, and went to the Jacobin Club for aid. A large party was ſoon formed, who ſent a deputation to the guard to give them notice that a corps, in which there were many of the National guards of Orleans, were coming to compel the gates of the priſons to be opened. This corps did actually appear, and the guard of the priſons being determined to defend their poſts, levelled their cannon, and loaded their arms. The two parties were cloſe to each other, the town was lighted, and a battle was on the point of commencing, when General *Fournier* came up, and propoſed as a means of reconciliation, to carry the priſoners, not to Saumur as the decree directed, but to Paris. The Orleans National guard, who were anſwerable

anſwerable for them only while they remained at Orleans, did not think proper to oppoſe a meaſure which might ſave the priſoners, and which beſides would exonerate them of all reſponſibility: thus the propoſal made by *Fournier* was agreed to by all parties.

Next day, Sept. 4th, at ſix o'clock in the morning, ſeven open waggons, with ſtraw at the bottom, were drawn up to the gate of the priſon, and eight priſoners were placed in each. Their effects, meant to be pillaged, were left in the priſon to be put into a carriage that was to go for them, but which never went. The convoy ſet out, eſcorted by the corps under *Fournier*, who had decorated the breaſt plate of his horſe with all the *croix de St. Louis* taken from the officers among the priſoners. What a dreadful journey, or rather what a protracted execution had theſe victims to undergo! Groſsly inſulted by all the brigands they met on the way, expoſed all the day to the beams of a ſcorching ſun, breathing only air charged with duſt, heaped together in tumbrels, in which they were ſlowly dragged towards death; and which they only quitted in the evening to be laid in the ſtable of ſome inn, where

where they were ſhut up promiſcuouſly for the night, and taken out next morning covered with vermin.

The Aſſembly being informed, by the great Solicitors of the National Supreme Court, that the priſoners of Orleans were on the road to Paris, decreed that the Executive Power ſhould take the neceſſary meaſures for their ſecurity; that they ſhould cauſe them to be carried for the preſent to whatever place they might judge moſt convenient out of the Department of Paris; and that they ſhould ſend Commiſſioners to meet the convoy, and inform the troops which eſcorted it, that they had eſſentially tranſgreſſed the law, to which they ought to ſubmit.

The Commiſſioners met the convoy at Etampes on the 6th of September, where they made the priſoners acquainted with the object of their miſſion, and with their firm reſolution to fulfil it, ſo as to quiet all their fears. In a few hours after they went and told them that it had been determined that the convoy ſhould remain at Etampes till the Aſſembly had come to a new determination on the fate of the priſoners; but the Marſeillois, enraged at being kept inactive

while their comrades were ſtill ſhedding the blood of the priſoners of the Capital in torrents, broke out into the moſt violent murmurs. One of them, ſtammering and foaming with drunkenneſs, went up to the Commiſſioners, and ſaid that it was poſſible there might be ſome innocent perſons among the priſoners of the Supreme Court, but that he was aſſured that there were alſo great criminals, and that the people alone had a right to try them. As the Commiſſioners did not dare to arreſt this man, or impoſe ſilence upon him, the cry of *to Paris, to Paris* was heard, and ſoon became general. The Commiſſioner having withdrawn, *Fournier* conſulted his ſoldiers, in order to reconcile the wiſh they manifeſted with the reſpect they ſtill affected to preſerve for the Conſtituted Authorities, and propoſed to remain two days longer at Etampes, on the expreſs conditions of ſetting out for Verſailles on the 8th in the morning, which was agreed to. The Commiſſioners ſecretly informed the priſoners that they would take advantage of this delay to cauſe an armed force to be choſen in the Sections of Paris, and ſent to Etampes, to protect them, and enforce obedience to the law.

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As this choſen troop did not arrive, the convoy left Etampes on the morning of the 8th of September, and halted in the evening at Arpajon, where the priſoners paſſed the night in a ſtable belonging to the ſeat of Mareſchal *Mouchy*; and *Fournier* received from them 1500 livres, which he had the effrontery to exact to defray the expences of their journey, although the Municipality of Orleans had given him 15,000 livres for the charges of the convoy as far as Saumur.

On Sunday the 9th of September the priſoners were conducted to Verſailles. In going out of the little town of Jouy, they found an immenſe crowd gathered to ſee them paſs, and which followed and loaded them with abuſe. Some told them that they were going to be ſhut up at the menagerie in the iron cages made for wild beaſts; others, that ten thouſand Pariſians were waiting for them to cut their throats. Theſe threats, theſe outrages, and the ſavage joy manifeſted by a part of their eſcort, no longer ſuffered them to doubt that their laſt hour was come. Conſidering death at that time as the termination of inſupportable agony, they were all reſigned to it, and ſeveral of them wiſhed it.

When the convoy arrived at the iron-gate at the entrance of Verſailles, ſeven Municipal Officers went up to protect the carriages, and to accompany them to the menagerie. The party who were to have guarded them were about thirty paces off, leaving but a line of five men on each ſide of them. This day *Fournier* had ſcarcely ever appeared at the head of his corps. As ſoon as the carriages arrived in the great ſquare, they were ſtopped by ten or twelve men, who ſeized the bridles of the horſes, crying out, *off with their heads*; they, however, yielded to the repreſentations of the Municipal Officers, and the march was continued to the iron-gate of the *Orangerie*, which was opened to allow the four cannon that preceded the eſcort to paſs. As ſoon as they were within, the gate was ſhut, and the convoy again ſtopped by the ſame number of aſſailants, and with the ſame cries. Again theſe ſavages were harangued; for the officers and ſoldiers of the eſcort kept their ſwords conſtantly ſheathed, and were deaf to all that the Municipal Officers required of them. *Fournier* for ſome time ſeemed as if determined on the opening of the gate, which it was neceſſary to paſs in order

order to go to the menagerie, where the prisoners were to be lodged; it was indeed opened and shut twice or thrice following, but no carriage was suffered to enter. *Fournier* affecting to take into serious consideration the respect that was due to the will of the sovereign people determined to leave his cannon, and to send the convoy by another road; but the carriages had scarcely moved on two hundred paces, before they were stopped. Fifteen assassins surrounded and assailed the first in the cross street *des quatre bornes*; it was then three o'clock in the afternoon, and *Fournier* had disappeared. The Mayor of Versailles was standing near this carriage, and endeavoured, but in vain, to appease the fury of those villains: he threw himself before them, harangued them, got upon the carriage to keep back the prisoners they attempted to seize, and even shielded with his body the two first that were murdered. His zeal, courage, and honourable efforts exposed him more than once to the fate of the victims, without saving any. Of fifty-three prisoners, forty-seven were massacred, while the whole guard under arms remained near an hour and a half motionless spectators of this scene of horror,

horror, executed by fifteen villains, for the people took no part in it!

The bodies of theſe victims received ſimilar indignities to thoſe exerciſed on the priſoners maſſacred at Paris. Their limbs were cut off and ſtuck on the iron rails of the Palace; thoſe of the Duke *de Briſſac* were carried on pikes, and placed under the windows of the pavilion of Lucienne, where his friend Madame *du Barry* had retired*! The principal perſons brought from Orleans with the Duke *de Briſſac*, were the Miniſters *De Leſſart* and *D'Abancourt*, M. *de Caſtellane* Biſhop of *Mende*, who was more than ſixty years old, M. *de Malvoiſin*, Lieutenant-Colonel of *Monſieur's* regiment of Dragoons, the officers of the

* Among the ſix priſoners who eſcaped the maſſacre, ſeveral were ſpared becauſe they were ſervants, and the others owed their lives to the murderers being tired. One eſcaped from his wounds not proving mortal; this was M. *de Loyauté*, an officer of the artillery, from whom I heard the circumſtances which I have related. A perſon, named *François Bertrand*, being found in the liſt of the priſoners of Orleans, it was generally thought to be me. Several Journaliſts confirmed this miſtake, and *Hebert*, in his narrative of the maſſacres of Verſailles, gave a minute account of all the circumſtances of my death.

regiment of Cambreſis, and *La Riviere* the Juſtice. The aſſaſſins concluded the day with maſſacreing the priſoners that were in the priſons of Verſailles, among whom were ſeven prieſts taken up to be tranſported.

There was not a ſingle day in this too memorable week that was not ſtained with more murders than had been committed in France for a century! The greateſt villains of the kingdom had now become the chief actors in the Revolution, and the remainder of the hiſtory of it is but a horrible ſeries of crimes.

CHAP-

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Character of Robespierre; his Object, Plan, and Means—The taking of Longwy and Verdun—The Siege of Thionville undertaken without Artillery — Commissioners sent by the Commune of Paris to all Parts of the Kingdom—Deputies to the Convention elected from among the greatest Villains—Principal Events of the Campaign of 1792*—The Duke of Brunswick's Plan adopted, but not followed—Dumourier's Conduct—A Negotiation opened with him—An Armistice —Stipulation for the Exchange of Pri-*

ſoners—The Emigrants not included in it—Retreat of the combined Armies inevitable—Abſurd Conjectures reſpecting the Reaſons of it—Unjuſt Cenſure caſt on the French Princes and Emigrants—Cauſes of the Diſaſters of the Campaign examined.

THE election of Members for the National Convention began at Paris on the ſame day with the maſſacre of the priſoners, and marked as much as poſſible the bloody auſpices under which it took place. *Robeſpierre* was the firſt named. The part, as aſtoniſhing as execrable, which he played in the Revolution from the 10th of Auguſt till his death, preſents an enigma the more difficult to be reſolved, as the hiſtory of no country, of no Revolution, ever offered the like. It is ſtill aſked, how did it happen that a man without a name, without talents, without courage, without fortune, and of a hideous figure, managed, in the ſpace of ſix months, completely to annihilate the moſt ancient monarchy of Europe, to bring to the ſcaffold a good and virtuous Prince, who had always deſerved to be the idol of his ſubjects;

ſubjects; to erect on the ruins of all the laws, all the Conſtitutions, all the Authorities, the moſt ſanguinary, the moſt enormous power that had ever exiſted on earth, to concentre it entirely in his own hands, and to conſolidate it by means of the new crimes with which he abuſed it? Such were, in fact, the horrible miracles of *Robeſpierre*; but it is more particularly important to unveil his object, his plan, and his means, that his accomplices, and men like him, whom his ſucceſs ſtill emboldens, may never attempt to renew in France the dreadful calamities with which it has been ſo long deſolated.

Robeſpierre, condemned by his mediocrity to be nothing more than a petty Provincial Advocate under the old ſyſtem, hated it only becauſe he ſaw in it no opening favourable to his inordinate ambition, of which neither glory nor wealth was the object. His turbulent, ſeditious, and innately deſpotic character, rendered him jealous of all the Powers, leſs with a view of deſtroying them, than of making a change, and of ſeizing them for himſelf: this was his democracy. His extreme vanity made him believe that he was deſtined to play a

very conſpicuous part, and ſuch was ever his principal object. The convocation of the States-General opened a field to his hopes the more extenſive, as there then exiſted a violent and general fermentation againſt the Government, which was attacked at once by all the paſſions, not excepting even the love of the public good, ſome to reform it, others to deſtroy it. *Robeſpierre*, profeſſing the moſt popular ſentiments, and the moſt ardent zeal in the cauſe of the *Tiers-Etat*, eaſily ſucceeded in gaining an election as a Deputy to the States-General, and repaired to Verſailles, tranſported with the moſt fanatic enthuſiaſm for all Republican ideas. The motions and extravagant ſpeeches which they ſuggeſted to him rendered him completely ridiculous, and made him paſs for a madman in the eyes even of the faction moſt violent againſt the government*; and whenever he ſpoke, the ennui and diſguſt of his hearers were manifeſted by the moſt unequivocal ſigns. This outſet, not

* That faction did not yet dare to mean any thing more than a Conſtitution *free*, but Monarchical, or, to ſpeak the language of the times, *a Conſtitutional Monarchy*.

very

very flattering to his vanity, convinced him that it was not in this Aſſembly he could hope to play ſucceſsfully the conſpicuous part to which he aſpired, and that he would never have the ſlighteſt influence in it, without ſome great revolution. That of the 14th of July revived his hopes. It opened to his mind at once the extreme weakneſs of the Government, the advantage that was to be derived from inſurrections, and the means of exciting them. It was now in his power to form a plan, and he determined upon that of gaining completely the confidence and favour of the people, in order to make uſe of them one day for the purpoſe of overawing the Aſſembly. He ſoon became one of the principal leaders of the Jacobin Club. From that time he publiſhed a vaſt number of pamphlets, flattering the people, whoſe ſovereignty he proclaimed and exalted. He gained over to him *Marat*, *Camille Deſmoulins*, *Danton*, and all the Revolutionary furies, whoſe writings or motions always tended to exaſperate the people againſt the King, the nobility, and the clergy; and thus ſucceſſively followed the burning and pillaging of the country ſeats, the perſecutions of the prieſts, the

outrages againſt the King's authority and perſon, the ſeizure of the property of the clergy, the abolition of the feudal rights of the nobility, &c.

Robeſpierre finding that the Monarchy was ſtill ſupported by the opinion of the public, and of the majority of the Aſſembly, aimed at ſecuring the annihilation of it through the means of that very Conſtitution which it was ſaid was to render it more ſolid and brilliant than ever. I will not repeat the different manœuvres which he and his cabal put in practice, in the courſe of diſcuſſing the Conſtitutional Act, to introduce into it regulations the moſt incompatible with a Monarchical Government. It is well known, that inſtead of a Conſtitutional Monarchy, ſo ſolemnly announced, the reſult was a Democratic Government, ill organized, and clogged with a King without power or means to prevent or to repreſs any of the encroachments of the Firſt National Aſſembly, in which the majority were Jacobins. In the Legiſlative Body this advantage was ſecured to them by the Conſtitutional compoſition of the Primary Aſſemblies; and ten months and a half after the opening of this Second Aſſembly,

Louis XVI. was dethroned, and he and the Royal Family impriſoned. We have ſeen in the preceding chapters, that this outrage was directed by the villains who compoſed the new Commune of Paris, formed at the inſtigation of *Robeſpierre*, who was the ſoul and real chief of them, without daring to be their Preſident.

The event of the 10th of Auguſt had entirely deſtroyed the *Conſtitutional* Monarchy: the Aſſembly, terrified by the threats of the Jacobins and of the Commune, had already taken a ſolemn oath of hatred to Royalty; the ſovereign people wiſhed for a Republic, and a National Convention was convoked to determine the form of it: thus all ſucceeded to *Robeſpierre*'s wiſh, and his object ſeemed to be attained; but his boldneſs and ambition increaſed with his ſucceſs. A Republican Government could no longer anſwer his views, but by his being at the head of it; and he got ſeveral Journaliſts, and particularly *Marat*, to point him out for Dictator. He could not endure the thought of a National Convention, compoſed, like the Legiſlative Body, of the moſt diſtinguiſhed ſpeakers of all the Jacobin

Jacobin Clubs. He was afraid of having colleagues whoſe talents might counterbalance his influence. Villains as ſtupid as furious ſuited him much better. He thought of two ways for having a great number of ſuch perſons ſent as Deputies to the Convention: the one was to admit all the rabble of the kingdom to vote at the elections, which was the object of the decree obtained by the Commune, aboliſhing the diſtinction of citizens active and not active; and the other was, to keep from the Primary Aſſemblies all the worthy citizens who were incapable of being acceſſary to the election of ſuch worthleſs people; and this end was effected by the univerſal terror excited at the period of the elections by the arbitrary arreſts and maſſacres inſtigated and encouraged by the Commune of Paris, who were always governed by *Robeſpierre*.

I here finiſh the picture of that monſter, and think I have ſaid enough of him to enable my readers to underſtand his conduct throughout the Revolution. Naturally a deſpot, his vanity and ambition made him a demagogue. He deteſted Royalty and nobility, becauſe he could neither be a King nor

nor a nobleman; talents, becauſe he had none; religion, becauſe it prohibited all the crimes for which he had occaſion. His energy was only that of ferocity, and he was ferocious becauſe he was a coward. The innumerable aſſaſſinations of which he was guilty were as often the effect of his terror as the means of his ambition, and the whole of his ability conſiſted in conſtantly puſhing on towards his object, without any ſcruple in the choice of his meaſures.

The Electoral Aſſembly of Paris choſe almoſt all the Deputies for the Convention among the Members of the Commune the moſt noted for their atrocity, ſuch as *Robeſpierre* and his brother, *Marat*, *Collot d'Herbois*, *Panis*, *Sergent*, &c. They alſo elected the Miniſter *Danton*, the moſt ſanguinary of villains, and the infamous Duke of *Orleans*, who, to the ſcandal of being leagued with ſuch men, added that of ſolemnly abjuring for himſelf and for his poſterity, his family name, and taking that of *Egalité*, on the 15th of September 1792! This ſhameful and ſtupid nick-name was much leſs a proof of his plebeian ardour than of his cowardice.

The other Electoral Aſſemblies of the

kingdom, ſwayed by the Members of the Jacobin Club, who compoſed the majority of them, almoſt every where elected men among thoſe whoſe Revolutionary exploits preſented the greateſt number of crimes, or ſuch as expreſſed themſelves with the greateſt violence in favour of a Republican Government, and of the regicide*. The Commiſſioners of the Commune of Paris who were ſent, under different pretences, to all the neighbouring Departments for more than thirty leagues round, ſowed theſe fatal diſpoſitions the more effectually, as the abſolute and unlimited authority which they took upon themſelves to exerciſe gave them the greateſt influence in all the towns through which they paſſed. One of thoſe Commiſſioners, *Billaud de Varennes*, wrote from Chalons-ſur-Marne, that in that town they had

* The Electoral Body of Meaux rapturouſly applauded and adopted a farmer's motion, that a cannon ſhould be made of a caliber of the ſize of the head of *Louis* XVI. that *in caſe of invaſion the head of that traitor may be ſent to the enemy*; and the Commiſſioner of the Commune of Paris, ſent to that Department for the purpoſe of furniſhing ſubſiſtence, in giving an account of this fact to the National Aſſembly, called this villain *a good farmer*. Sittings of the 6th and 12th of September.

found

found the ſame ſpirit which prevailed at Longwy and Verdun; that they had obſerved the principle of that general lukewarmneſs in the Municipality who had taken no vigorous meaſures to fire the minds of the people; that they were going to rouſe them by a proclamation, and that it was their intention to diſſolve the Directory and the Municipality, if they did not aſcertain that the majority of their members were inſpired with the principles of the Revolution. Theſe Commiſſioners alſo took it into their heads to inſpect the armies, to examine the conduct of the Generals, to give them directions, and to lay down rules for military operations. "We began," ſaid *Billaud de Varennes*, "by viſiting Mareſ-"chal *Luckner*, from whom we received "only inſignificant anſwers. He ſeems "very little acquainted with the details of "Adminiſtration. He particularly appeared "to us to have a very bad memory, for he "did not recollect orders which he had "given four-and-twenty hours before. We "aſked him what had been done towards the "formation of the camp at Châlons, and "he replied that nothing was yet begun. "We inſtantly required of him to give

orders

" orders for beginning the neceſſary works
" of that camp, which he promiſed, and
" to-morrow the encampment will proba-
" bly be formed."

The Aſſembly, to whom theſe ſtrange diſpatches were communicated by the Commune themſelves, did not dare to ſay a word againſt ſo ſcandalous an uſurpation of the Executive Power. Swayed by the terror which the news of the taking of Verdun had ſpread, they were anxious only for the formation of the camp at Paris, and the energy of the means diſplayed by the Commune to accelerate the works* of it, made them conſider their encroachments as ſlight irregularities. It required all the blindneſs of the moſt ſtupid fear not to ſee the inutility of this ridiculous encloſure, formed at a great expence about Paris, and of the

* The Council-General of the Commune ordered that all work on buildings ſhould be immediately ſuſpended, that the workmen might go and aſſiſt in preparations for the camp. Such was the terror of the Pariſians, that in ſeveral churches they dug up the leaden coffins to make balls; and it required a decree of the Aſſembly to ſtop their proceeding in a work rendered dangerous by the infectious exhalations that were the conſequences of it. September 7th.

immenſe

immenſe collection of ammunition and of artillery taken from the Departments of the North, where they were much more neceſſary. It was the armies in preſence of the enemy, and the frontiers attacked or menaced, that the Revolutioniſts ought to have re-inforced by all poſſible means. It was in fact evident, that if the victorious armies of the allied Powers had penetrated into the heart of France, the Counter-revolution would have been completed long before they arrived under the walls of the Capital, the gates of which would undoubtedly have been immediately opened to them.

The vauntings of the French Generals, whoſe correſpondence was daily read to the Aſſembly, were but a momentary relief to their fears*. They always promiſed ſucceſs but announced only diſaſters, or doubtful and inſignificant advantages in petty encounters, which tended to nothing. It is true that *Dumourier*, finding himſelf at the head of an army neither diſciplined nor

* *Dumourier* writes, "Verdun is taken. I expect "the Pruſſians. The camp of Grandpré, and that of "the Iſlettes are the Straits of Thermopylæ; but I "ſhall be more fortunate than *Leonidas*."

inured

inured to war, and inferior in number to that of the Powers, muſt have been very careful not to hazard a general battle, and muſt have intended, as he ſays himſelf in his Memoirs*, *only to gain time, and to ruin the Pruſſians without fighting.* The abſolute want of every reſource in the miſerable country they occupied, and which the French army had already exhauſted, the continual rains, and the dyſentery which attacked their army, were very favourable to the ſucceſs of this plan. The prudence of it will be evident on conſidering reſpectively the ſtrength and poſition of the French, Auſtrian, and Pruſſian armies. The account of them which the Commiſſioners, ſent by the Aſſembly to Châlons, gave on the 8th of September, on the report of General *Luckner*, was as follows:

"General *Dumourier* occupies with his "army the poſition of Granpré. His van-"guard, commanded by *Arthur Dillon*, "is at St. Menehould, and a poſt of that "vanguard occupies the point below the "Iſlettes, a village between Clermont and "St. Menehould. The manner in which

* Vol. III. page 206.

"the

" which the different corps are ſtationed ſe-
" cures theſe paſſes from every attack, Nature
" having there provided Art with infinite
" advantages. *Kellerman*'s army is in the
" environs of *Bar-le-Duc*. The Generals
" *Dumourier* and *Kellerman* correſpond
" eaſily with *Luckner*.

" The vanguard commanded by *Arthur*
" *Dillon* conſiſts of 7000 men. On the
" 12th of this month *Dumourier*'s army,
" including this vanguard, will amount to
" 42,000 men. *Kellerman*'s army amounts
" to 16,000, in the whole making 58,000
" men. This number is incluſive of the
" men with whom Mareſchal *Luckner* may
" ſucceſſively augment it." *To this muſt be added, the twelve battalions and the three ſquadrons which* Dumourier *ordered* Beurnonville *to bring from the camp of Maulde with the French, Belgic, and Liege light infantry, which made in all* 9000 *men. They arrived on the* 14*th of September at Rethel, which is only ten leagues from Grandpré, and by this junction* Dumourier*'s army amounted to* 67,000 *men**.

* See the Life of *Dumourier*, Vol. III. page 83 and 117.

Theſe forces were intended to defend Pvuilleuſe, the foreſt of Argonne, which ſeparates Champagne from the *Trois Evêches*. Mountains, rivers, ſtreams, pools, and marſhes, interſect this foreſt, and render it impaſſable to an army, except by five glades, through which run the roads leading from Champagne to the three Evêchés. Theſe five paſſes are known by the names of *La Croix-au-bois*, *Grandpré*, *les Iſlettes*, *la Chalade*, and *le Chêne Populeux*.

The Commiſſioners, in the report I have juſt mentioned, made the Pruſſian and Auſtrian armies, together with that of the Princes, amount to 132,000 men; but this calculation was greatly exaggerated. The Pruſſian army, ſtationed between Verdun and Clermont, did not amount to more than 45,000 men. The army of Prince *Hohenloe-Kirchberg*, one part of which was to overawe Landau and Saarlouis, while the other beſieged Thionville, was to have been 50,000 men ſtrong; but the different detachments that were drawn from it to be ſent into the Briſgau, under the command of the Prince *D'Eſterhazy*, to the environs of Spire, under the command of Count *D'Erbach*, to the camp of Richemont, to Trêves, &c. reduced

duced the portion of this army, which joined the combined forces, to about 14,000 men. They were deſtined to beſiege Thionville, but had no artillery proper for a ſiege; and even their field pieces were very inſufficient. General *Clerfaye*'s army, taken from that of the Low Countries*, conſiſted of only 15,000 men, and was reduced to 12,000 by the garriſons which he was obliged to leave at Namur, Mons, and Tournay. From this army alſo were detached the troops required to garriſon Longwy, to cover Montmedy, and to watch Stenay. The Landgrave of *Heſſe* joined the army on the 10th of September, with a reinforcement of 6000 of his troops. The army of the French Princes, compoſed of 22,000 men, was divided into three bodies. That which the Prince *de Condé* commanded amounted to 6000 men, and lay at Creutznach. The Duke *de Bourbon*, at the head of a diviſion of 4000 men, joined the army of the Duke *de Saxe-Teſchen*, Governor General

* The army of the Low Countries, which was to have been 60,000 men, amounted only to 30,000, and was reduced to 15,000 by the formation of M. *de Clerfaye*'s army.

of the Low Countries. MONSIEUR and the Count *D'Artois* reſerved for themſelves 12,000 men, under the command of the Duke of *Brunſwick*. The Pruſſian army, compoſed of theſe different diviſions, amounted to 89,000 men, and conſequently to 22,000 more than that of *Dumourier*.

Although theſe forces were about 60,000 leſs than the Powers had agreed to employ in this enterpriſe, they would have been more than ſufficient to enſure the ſucceſs of it, had leſs dependence been placed upon it, had their junction been leſs tardy, and, above all, had the ſervice relative to the ſupplying of proviſions, and to the artillery been leſs neglected. It was not probable that an army of 67,000 men, a great part of whom were indifferent recruits who had never been in action, and who were led by Generals, not one of whom had ever had four regiments under his command, could reſiſt an army of 89,000 of the beſt troops of Europe, animated by the preſence and bravery of the King of Pruſſia and his ſons, and commanded by an experienced General, whoſe great abilities and military talents were univerſally acknowledged. The Campaign, however,

however, abſolutely failed, and that fine army is now only famous for its diſaſters, and for the numerous conjectures that were made at the time reſpecting the motives for its inaction and retreat, which ſtill remain unknown. I have neglected no means to procure information that might enable me to throw any light on this important point; but in order to give more value to that which I have obtained, and to the inferences I draw from it, it is neceſſary for me to reſume the order of the facts.

I muſt firſt requeſt of my readers all the indignation againſt the atrocious and falſe imputation laid upon the Princes of having endeavoured to entertain in their army ſentiments of hatred and of vengeance againſt the French, and of having inſtigated the maſſacres of the 2d of September, by the ſpeech made to the French nobility under their command the day before they entered France, which was on the 23d of Auguſt. This ſpeech, which was delivered by MONSIEUR, was as follows;

"Gentlemen, to-morrow we enter France, "a memorable day, which muſt neceſſarily "have an influence upon the operations "which are entruſted to us, and our conduct "may

" may determine the fate of France. You " are not ignorant of the calumnies with " which our enemies are continually loading " us, nor of the pains they take to report " that we are only entering our country to " ſatiate our private vengeance.

" It is by our conduct, Gentlemen, by " the cordiality with which we ſhall receive " the miſled French who ſhall throw them- " ſelves into our arms, that we will prove " to all Europe that the French nobility, " more illuſtrious than ever by their mis- " fortunes, and by their fortitude, know " how to conquer their enemies, and to " pardon the errors of their country. The " power placed in our hands would give us " the right of exacting what our intereſt " and our glory might ſuggeſt; but we " ſpeak to you, to French Chevaliers, " whoſe hearts, glowing with true honour, " will never forget the duties which that " noble ſentiment impoſes upon them."

At that time, when the ſuperiority of the combined armies over that of *Dumourier* left no doubt on which ſide victory would remain, what ſentiments more generous, what diſpoſitions more moderate could the factious expect from that nobility ſo greatly ſlan-

dered, whom they had bereft of their rank, of their titles, and of their property; and whom their crimes of every kind had compelled to fly their country? How could murder or vengeance be inſtigated by ſuch a ſpeech? The wretches who ſpread this impoſture could not gain it credit, but by ſubſtituting for the words of MONSIEUR the language which they themſelves would have uſed, had they been in his place; and this was what they did.

It was not the King of Pruſſia's deſign, in entering France, to conquer it. All he intended was to give aſſiſtance to the Royaliſts, who were repreſented to him as very numerous, and only waiting for an oſtenſible army, a General, and the Princes, in order to join them. The reſources of every kind which it was ſaid the country was to furniſh, and an abundance of which was warranted by the ſuppoſed favourable diſpoſition of the inhabitants, had cauſed ſeveral meaſures and precautions, that would have been indiſpenſable in a regular war of one Power againſt another, to be conſidered as ſuperfluous; but pains had been taken with ſucceſs to perſuade the Emperor and the King of Pruſſia that a civil war would break

out in France as ſoon as their armies ſhould advance into its territories; that their powerful intervention would very ſpeedily determine the iſſue of it againſt the Jacobins; that the greater part of the troops of the line of the French army would immediately join the Royaliſt party, &c. It was upon theſe principles that the ſtate and diſtribution of the forces deſtined to the execution of the plan of the campaign had been arranged, againſt the expreſs opinion of the Duke of *Brunſwick*, very fully ſtated in a note which he addreſſed to the King of Pruſſia, in the month of February 1792. The Duke foreſeeing the difficulties and obſtacles which might occur in the expedition with which he was to be charged, ſtrongly inſiſted on the neceſſity of employing means adequate to the importance of the enterpriſe, in order that the ſucceſs of it might not depend on the ſuccours which were expected from the favourable diſpoſition of the country. He thought that thoſe ſuccours, whatever they might be, ought not to be neglected; but that it was wiſer not to depend upon them: in a word, it was his wiſh that this war ſhould be like all which he had been engaged in, a regular and

and methodical one, and not an irruption, of which the riſks would be incalculable. This opinion, the wiſdom of which has been but too well juſtified by the event, ill accorded with the noble and generous impatience felt by the King of Pruſſia for the deliverance of *Louis* XVI. and the reeſtabliſhment of the French Monarchy. Enraptured with a deſign ſo glorious, *Frederick William* II. liſtened to no objection that tended to delay the execution of it. His Majeſty flattered himſelf that he had accompliſhed by his alliance with Auſtria all that prudence could require; a flight of fancy in politics, the fallacy of which was ſoon demonſtrated by experience. He calculated alſo, that though the treaſure derived from the economy of *Frederick the Great* was far from being exhauſted, the expences of a diſtant war would, if it were prolonged, or even if it required extraordinary forces, exceed the pecuniary reſources of the Pruſſian Monarchy; *Frederic* determined therefore to go forward on the principles and with the means which the Duke of *Brunſwick* had pronounced inſufficient.

It was, however, perceived, as ſoon as the Pruſſian army entered into France, and particu-

particularly after the event of the 10th of Auguſt, that the diſpoſition of the country was far from being ſo favourable as was expected. The people, on whom the greateſt dependance had been placed, intimidated by the depoſition and impriſonment of the King and his family, no longer dared to undertake any thing in favour of Royalty. The country, already exhauſted by the French troops, preſented few reſources for ſubſiſtence; and the inhabitants, far from being ready to furniſh or point out any to the allied armies, refuſed them the moſt common neceſſaries even for payment, and yielded only to force or threats. Beſides, the Jacobins had neglected nothing to propagate throughout the Provinces the wildeſt enthuſiaſm reſpecting the advantages of the new order of things which they were about to eſtabliſh. Such likewiſe was the object of the Commiſſioners whom the Aſſembly had ſent to the army; and the factious had taken care to leave the command of fortified towns and of the armies only to perſons on whom they could depend; and conſequently, none of the French ſoldiers deſerted to the Pruſſian army. The officers of M. *de la Fayette*'s diviſion, who emigrated immediately

ately after him, and who had expected to carry over their troops to the allied armies, to act with them in effecting a Counter-revolution, arrived alone, and gave a very unfavourable account of the diſpoſition of the French troops, who had forſaken them at the time of their departure.

Theſe circumſtances could not but weaken hopes founded on a ſtate of things which the manœuvres of the Jacobins and terror had entirely changed. The Duke of *Brunſwick* again remonſtrated, and propoſed a plan leſs hazardous than that he was entruſted to execute. He wiſhed, "that after "having made himſelf maſter of a certain "number of fortreſſes on the Meuſe, in "order to eſtabliſh a ſafe poſition behind "that river, ſome corps of light troops "only ſhould be made to paſs it, to recon-"noitre the poſitions of the enemy, and to "aſcertain the real intentions of the inhabi-"tants. He might thus have waited with-"out danger for the reinforcements neceſ-"ſary to commence a methodical war; and "by obliging the enemy to keep his forces "in this quarter, the conqueſt of the Low "Countries might have been prevented. "Laſtly, an honourable retreat, and on ſuf-

"ficient

" ficient grounds, might have been made,
" had he been compelled to abandon the
" enterprife, after finding there was no hope
" of the concurrence which had been de-
" pended upon."

The extreme prudence of this plan was no lefs adverfe to the glowing ardour that impelled *Frederic William* to march to Paris, than to the zeal with which the Emigrants were animated for the fpeedy deliverance of the King, and re-eftablifhment of the Monarchy. " A methodical war," faid they, " might be the fafeft againft a " regular Power, of which the ftrength and " the means were known; but thofe of " France in Revolution are not to be calcu-" lated. Her armies, now deficient in " number, and undifciplined, will become " inured to war, will be difciplined, and " will be multiplied tenfold, if they are " allowed time for it; and their leaders will " acquire from experience the knowledge " they want. The Revolutionary fanati-" cifm will every day make freh progrefs " in the minds of the people, whom it will " be impoffible to recover but by force, if " advantage is not taken of their prefent " difpofition. If that be not yet openly

" mani-

" manifeſted, it is becauſe they are waiting " till ſome great ſucceſs, ſome vigorous " reſolutions, ſhow them the party that is " to be victorious. It was neither in con- " ſequence of the battle of Trebia, nor of " that of Thraſymenus, that any of the " allies or ſubjects of Rome went over to " Hannibal. He marched on, and gained " the battle of Cannæ, on which towns " and whole nations roſe againſt the Ro- " mans, and ſought his alliance. It is to " Paris the allies muſt march, and come " upon it like lightning, not to give the " factious time to recover themſelves."

Theſe opinions had much weight with the King of Pruſſia, and determined the attack of Longwy, which capitulated, as I have already ſaid, in the night between the 22d and 23d of Auguſt. The garriſon did not march out till the 24th. The Duke of *Brunſwick* ſtopped here three or four days, to eſtabliſh magazines of proviſions and forage, while the Prince *de Hohenloe* marched to ſtation his army before Thionville, in order to watch Metz and *Luckner*. This Prince did not arrive at his poſt till the 29th. It would have been imprudent to leave

leave Longwy till it was known that Thionville was covered, and *Luckner*'s army reſtrained from any attempt on the communication with Luxemburg; for that communication might have been intercepted between Longwy and Luxemburg, as well as between the latter place and Treves; and the army of Metz might, without the leaſt danger, have effected this diviſion on either bank of the Mozelle. On the 30th the Pruſſian army inveſted Verdun, while General *Clerfaye* marched to Dun, where he croſſed the Meuſe. His view was to cut off the army of the patriots, or at leaſt to watch and retard their march; and he did in fact fall in with a column of them that croſſed the Meuſe near Stenay.

The attack of Verdun did not require an army of 45,000 men, and the Duke of *Brunſwick* might have detached a party from it to carry on the ſiege of Montmedy at the ſame time; but unfortunately he had not ſufficient artillery to carry on two ſieges at once. Beſides, *Dumourier*, reſtrained only by General *Clerfaye*'s army, which conſiſted but of ten or twelve thouſand men, having declared to the Aſſembly his intention

tion of ſuccouring Verdun, the Duke of *Brunſwick* would have been guilty of the greateſt imprudence, had he not kept at leaſt a ſufficient force to render that enterprize abortive, ſhould it be undertaken; which it was, but without ſucceſs *, and Verdun capitulated on the 2d of September. General *Kalkreuth* marched on the ſame day to Sivry-la-Perche with a detachment of 6000 men. Being relieved at this poſt the day following by the Prince *de Hohenloe*, he went and took poſſeſſion of the heights of Monteville, on the road to Varennes, keeping the village of Monteville in his rear, to be the readier to act with M. *de Clerfaye*, who had juſt paſſed the Meuſe to watch *Dumourier*'s march.

While the Duke of *Brunſwick* inveſted Verdun, the army of the Princes had marched to Hettanges, near Thionville, to join General *Wallis*'s corps of obſervation. On the 5th of September their Royal Highneſſes ſummoned the fort to ſurrender. On

* *Dumourier* ſent thither *Galbaud*, a Lieutenant-Colonel of artillery, with two battalions; but he could go no farther than Dun, where he narrowly eſcaped being taken.

the

the refuſal of the Commandant (*Wimphen*), General *Wallis* left his camp on the following night, and approached the advanced works with ſome twelve-pounders and howitzers. As the Mareſchal *de Caſtries*, who commanded the huſſars and Iriſh brigade, was to aſſiſt in this attack, he received a reinforcement compoſed of the firſt company *Noble d'Ordonnance*, the corps of cavalry belonging to the battalion of the nobility of Poitou, two pieces of cannon, and two mortars in very bad condition, taken from the park of artillery at Luxemburg. As night came on, he marched to the heights of the village of Yatz, which commands the fort. Both attacks commenced towards midnight, and laſted till three o'clock in the morning. The fort returned the fire of theſe feeble batteries very vigorouſly. The Prince *de Waldec* loſt an arm in this affair. From the inutility of carrying on this attack without artillery fit for a ſiege, the project was abandoned, and the troops returned to their camp at day-break. A ſecret communication, however, was kept up with Thionville, as had been the caſe with Longwy and Verdun; and intelligence was received that that fortreſs, which was much ſtronger than

than the two others, would not have made a longer reſiſtance, had it been as ſeriouſly attacked; but could it ſurrender without having been bombarded, and when, after a very feeble attack of three hours, the ſiege had been converted into a blockade?

The Princes ſet out on the 11th with all their cavalry, amounting to 6000 men, to go and join the King of Pruſſia's army, and left Mareſchal *de Broglio* at the camp of Hettanges with their infantry, and the detachment of the Mareſchal *de Caſtries*, who himſelf accompanied the Princes, and took the command of the diviſion of cavalry under them.

After the taking of Verdun it was finally determined that the allied armies ſhould puſh forward in France, although no favourable diſpoſition in the Provinces, or among the French troops, had been perceived; but the eaſe with which Longwy and Verdun had been taken, was a good omen, and inſpired the greateſt confidence. Nevertheleſs the Duke of *Brunſwick*, before he undertook any thing, waited at Verdun the arrival of the diviſion commanded by the Princes, and the reinforcement of 6000 men with which the Land-

grave of *Heſſe-Caſſel* was to advance. Theſe forces, and the army of the Prince *de Hohenloe*, who did not arrive till the 12th with 6000 men*, were neceſſary for the protection of the baggage waggons, and to keep open the communication of the army. The Landgrave of *Heſſe* arrived on the 10th on the aſcent of St. Michel, and the very next day the Pruſſian army ſet out for Malancourt. The head-quarters of the Princes was eſtabliſhed on the 13th at Verdun, and their cavalry cantoned in the neighbourhood. The next day, Prince *Charles* of *Ligne* was directed by General *Clerfaye* to attack the poſt of La Croix-aux-boix, and he took poſſeſſion of it after a feeble reſiſtance. *Dumourier*, on being informed of it, immediately put two brigades and ſix ſquadrons, under the command of General *Chazot*, with four eight pounders, beſides the cannon of the battalions, ordering him to advance with the greateſt

* He had left the reſt of his troops at the camp of Richemont, to watch Metz. Another corps remained in the neighbourhood of Etain, and a third at a little diſtance from Thionville. The object of the two laſt was to protect the communications.

rapidity to recover that poſt, and to make the attack immediately with the point of the bayonet, that the enemy might not have time to entrench themſelves. *Chazot* punctually executed the order, and retook the poſt, after a battle that laſted a conſiderable time, and in which the Prince *de Ligne* was killed; but General *Clerfaye* receiving the news of this check, came up a few hours after, attacked and again forced the wood and village of La Croix, paſſed the works that defended it, and obliged the patriots to fall back in confuſion beyond Vouziers *, to which place General *Clerfaye* advanced the day following; and on the ſame day General *Kalkreuth* arrived between Termes and Mouron.

Dumourier had juſt heard of *Chazot*'s defeat, when the Prince *de Hohenloe*, on the 15th of September, ſent to requeſt a conference with him. He either could not or would not go himſelf, but ſent one of his Generals, named *Duval*. This meeting, according to what *Dumourier* ſays of

* *Chazot* there received an order to march with his diviſion, and join *Dumourier*'s army, which was to be on the heights of Autri on the 15th.

it in his Memoirs *, was ſpent in civilities on the part of the Prince, and in vauntings on the part of *Duval*, reſpecting the excellent condition of the French army, and the number of troops with which it would be reinforced the next day by the junction of *Beurnonville* and *Kellerman*. The Prince *de Hohenloe* retired, without perceiving or ſuſpecting any thing that indicated the retreat then meditated by *Dumourier*, and which he effected that very night by means of ſo thick a fog, that the Prince *de Hohenloe*, although he commanded the foremoſt diviſion, could not be informed of this movement till ten o'clock next morning. He followed the enemy with the whole reſerve of the army, as ſoon as the fog was ſufficiently cleared off to enable him to reconnoitre a defile ſo long and ſo narrow as that of Grandpré.

Dumourier having already paſſed this defile, drew up his army in order of battle on the heights of Autri, to protect the retreat of his rear-guard, haraſſed by about 1500 Pruſſian huſſars, with three or four pieces of flying artillery. This rear-guard, on

* Vol. III. page 122.

leaving

leaving the defile of Grandpré, drew up on the heights, and the army formed a marching column to proceed to Cernai. At this moment General *Chazot* came out by Vaux with his diviſion, who no ſooner perceived the Pruſſian huſſars, than they were ſeized with a violent panic, and precipitated themſelves acroſs the column of *Dumourier*'s army. The huſſars ſeeing this confuſion, fell on them with impetuoſity, and put the whole army to rout. Theſe brave patriots fled with ſuch prodigious celerity, that it might be ſaid fear had given them wings. More than 2000 of them had rode from thirty to forty leagues by the next day without ſtopping. They reported everywhere that the army had been betrayed, that it was annihilated, and that *Dumourier* and all the Generals had gone over to the enemy. *Dumourier*, in his account of this ſhameful affair to the Miniſter *Servan*, expreſſed himſelf in a letter, which was read to the Aſſembly on the 17th of September, in theſe terms: "There was no action, but the flight "of 10,000 men before 1500. If the "enemy had puſhed their advantage, they "might have deſtroyed the whole army;

" but all is repaired, and I anſwer for all. " I have 25,000 men in a good camp, and " if the enemy appear they ſhall be beaten." He alluded to the camp of St. Menehould, which he had not yet reached, and where he did not arrive till the 17th *.

The junction of the French armies determined the junction of the allies; and the diviſion of cavalry under the Princes received orders to advance as expeditiouſly as poſſible to Vouziers. They ſet out from Dun on the 17th of September; but after getting beyond Buzancy, the vanguard was ſtopped by a large body of Auſtrians commanded by General *Clerfaye*, and occupied in removing the ruins that ſtill ſtopped up the road from Dun to Vouziers. This obſtruction compelled the Princes to fix their head-quarters at Buzancy, which they left on the 19th, and after one of the moſt laborious marches, halted at the village of St. Marie, where their army laid in the open field the whole night. Several corps, long delayed on their march by the bad roads, and conſtant rain, did not, till the night was far advanced,

* See *Dumourier*'s Memoirs, Vol. III. page 128.

arrive

arrive at this place, where no kind of refreſhment was provided.

On the ſame day the King of Pruſſia advanced with the army to Maſſige. The Prince *de Hohenloe* marched to Servon, and M. *de Clerfaye* to Somme-Suippe; ſo that Rheims and Chalons were both threatened. His Majeſty's intention was to reconnoitre well the ground and poſitions of the enemy, and to march on the 20th nearer to Châlons, while Prince *Hohenloe*, remaining that day at Servon, ſhould march on the next to Vienne-la-Ville, in order to draw the attention of the enemy to that ſide, and that the Iſlettes at the ſame time might be threatened on the ſide of Clermont.

While examining from the eminence near Ville-ſur-tourbe, the camp of St. Menehould, occupied by *Dumourier*'s army, the troops on the ſlope of the Hyron were ſeen moving from that height towards their left. Several parties and country people who had been ſent nearer to obtain ſome information reſpecting this movement, unanimouſly reported that it was made in the direction to Châlons; and intelligence was received at the ſame time from Somme-Suippe, that French troops were arrived at Notre-Dame de

l'Epine, near Châlons, but it was not known from what quarter they came. Theſe advices determined the King of Pruſſia to march again the ſame day. His Majeſty led the army to Somme-Tourbe, and at the ſame time the reſerve, commanded by the Prince *de Hohenloe*, advanced between Somme-Tourbe and Somme-Bienne. The whole army paſſed the following night on the watch. They expected next day to find the enemy on their march to Châlons, and depended on ſeizing the occaſion to bring them to battle; and, in fact, the vanguard, commanded by the Prince *de Hohenloe*, had ſcarcely advanced half a league, when they fell in with a body of French cavalry, accompanied by artillery. The Prince attacked and purſued them; but the cavalry was numerous, and a thick fog, which did not clear up before ten o'clock in the morning, concealing their motions, the attack could neither be ſo prompt nor ſo vigorous as it would have been, but for that circumſtance. The whole action paſſed in ſkirmiſhes, and continued to the highway between St. Menehould and Châlons, without any thing of the poſition of the enemy having been diſcovered. Meanwhile General *Clerfaye* had marched

to La Croix in Champagne, to watch the enemy at Châlons. As ſoon as the weather cleared up, ſome troops were obſerved on the heights of Gizancourt, and cavalry behind the village of La Lune. *Kellerman*'s army was entirely concealed in the bottom at the back of Valmy; but about three or four thouſand men, moſt of them cavalry, were ſeen on the ſide of the Hyron. The ſuppoſition that *Dumourier* was ſtopped in his march, was the reaſon of the eminence of Gizancourt not being immediately occupied. It was hoped that he would march thither, and that an opportunity would be found of bringing him to action before he had time to form; but this hope vaniſhed about eleven o'clock in the morning. The French cavalry were then obſerved falling back behind Gizancourt, and ſome battalions, of which the heads of the men only were ſeen, were perceived near the mill of Valmy: it appeared that they had a conſiderable artillery, and that the French were bringing up their infantry towards Gizancourt. It was no longer doubted that they were endeavouring to take a maſked poſition, that the number and diſpoſition of their troops might not be diſcovered, and the

the combined forces made haſte to take poſſeſſion of the heights of Gizancourt. A briſk cannonade then commenced between the two armies, which laſted all the day, without being very deſtructive to either ſide: but indeed the Auſtrian artillery fired only with powder, for their balls were not yet arrived: but the Pruſſians ſucceeded in intercepting the direct communication of the French army with Chalons, ſo that they could receive no ſupplies from it but by Vitry, which was a conſiderable way about. At the cloſe of day *Kellerman*'s army gave up the poſt they had occupied, to the Pruſſians, and encamped to the left of *Dumourier*.

General *Clerfaye*, whoſe junction with the Pruſſian army had been effected towards the end of the battle, encamped near Valmy: the Prince *de Hohenloe* occupied the heights of Gizancourt and the poſt of La Lune, on the highway to Châlons. The King of Pruſſia fixed his head-quarters at Hans, and two days after (the 22d) the Pruſſian army took a poſition on the declivity of the Hyron.

The diviſion of cavalry commanded by the Princes were not at the cannonade of Valmy, but were then marching to Somme-Suippe, where they reſted that day to recover

cover the fatigues of their preceding marches. The junction of General *Clerfaye*, the retreat of the patriots, and new intelligence of the favourable diſpoſition of a part of their army, ſeemed to promiſe their Royal Highneſſes more poſitive ſucceſſes, and the glory of contributing to them, not only in conjunction with the brave nobility who accompanied them, but with all the good French, whom they flattered themſelves that they ſhould ſee deſerting the ſtandard of rebellion to ſupport that of Royalty. Animated with this hope the Princes appeared on horſeback on the morning of the 21ſt, and aſſembling all their cavalry in the extenſive plains of Suippe, formed them into two columns. The order and ſilence prevailing throughout the whole line, and the beauty of the different corps of which it was compoſed, preſented a noble *Coup d'Œuil.* Thoſe plains, already rendered famous by the defeat of *Attila* ſurnamed *the Scourge of God*, ſeemed deſtined to acquire ſtill greater celebrity in becoming equally fatal to *Jacobiniſm*, a ſcourge much more terrible than the King of the Huns. What confidence was inſpired by the numerous phalanx of French Chevaliers rallying round

round the brothers and nephews of their King, and forming with them a new cruſade to re-eſtabliſh the altar and the throne, and to reſcue France from her oppreſſors, and *Louis* XVI. from his murderers. The Princes and their diviſion continued on horſeback the whole day without taking any refreſhment, in the expectation of an attack which did not take place; and towards the end of the day the different columns, which advanced in the direction of Somme-Tourbe and La Croix, received an order to remain at thoſe places. The Princes fixed their head-quarters at Somme-Tourbe: their army remained in that poſition until the 24th, when it was judged indiſpenſable to make ſome alterations in the ſituation of the troops, in order to facilitate their ſubſiſtence, and to protect the armies and their waggons againſt the incurſions which were continually made by detachments from Reims and from Châlons. Moſt of the corps of the vanguard and of the right column, ſtationed ſince the 21ſt at La Croix in Champagne, received orders to retire on the 24th and 25th behind the armies at Suippe, Somme-Suippe, Jonchery, and St. Jean-ſur-Tourbe.

Mareſchal *de Broglio*, who on the 20th left

left the camp of Hettanges, after having given the command of the diviſion of infantry to Prince *Xavier de Saxe*, and Count *de Martanges* under him, arrived on the 24th at head quarters at Somme-Tourbe; and that diviſion reſigning on the ſame day their poſition to the troops of General *Wallis*, marched to Etain, where they remained waiting for freſh orders to join the Princes.

Meanwhile the conſtant rains had ſo cut up the roads that the proviſion-waggons of the Pruſſian army, whoſe ovens were ſtill at Verdun, took five days to go the ſame diſtance that would have required only two in dry weather, whence aroſe the moſt ſerious difficulties in furniſhing the ſubſiſtence of the troops. Thus the King of Pruſſia, perſiſting in the deſign of penetrating farther into France, had no alternative but that of marching, without loſing a moment, to make himſelf maſter of Châlons, where all the ſupplies for the French army were collected. This was what his Majeſty warmly deſired, and what all the General Officers of the army of the Princes adviſed; but, unfortunately, that deſire and thoſe councils were oppoſed by the following conſiderations:

tions: 1ſt, Châlons being five leagues from the poſition then held by the allied armies, the communication with Verdun, which was already very wide and very difficult to be kept up, would become ſtill more ſo, and create a riſk of wanting bread; 2dly, *Dumourier* could either march againſt the King's army and attack it, or ſuffering it to advance to Châlons, fall upon its rear, and entirely cut it off from its magazines; 3dly, the Pruſſian army, far from being ſo numerous, ſo ſplendid as at the opening of the campaign, was conſiderably weakened, and was daily decreaſing from the terrible ravages of a dyſentery*; 4thly,

* The Pruſſian army, at the period of the 29th of September, according to a ſtatement, the accuracy of which it is impoſſible to doubt, conſiſted, with the detachments under General *Kalckreutz* and the Prince *de Hohenloe*, of 26,850 foot and 7426 horſe, in all 34,276 men, from which are to be deducted the garriſon of Verdun, the detachments that protected the waggons, and thoſe that guarded the carriage of proviſions. The Auſtrian troops, commanded by General *Clerfaye*, amounted at moſt only to 10,000 men, from which are to be taken the garriſon of Longwy, a detachment to watch Montmedy, and another poſt at Dun to cover La Boulangerie. The army of the French Princes was 12,000 ſtrong: total 56,276. *Dumourier*'s army at that time amounted to 70,000 men.

if,

if, previous to marching to Châlons, it had been determined to attack *Dumourier* and hazard a general engagement, it is probable it would have ſucceeded, but it muſt have been extremely bloody, becauſe the poſition occupied by that General, and which according to him was impregnable, was really ſuſceptible of a vigorous defence; becauſe his army, more inured to war, *more broke in to ſtand fire*, by ſeveral actions of the poſts, and by the long cannonade of Valmy, amounted to about 70,000 men from the junction of *Beurnonville* and *Kellerman*; and, likewiſe, becauſe it could not be denied that *Dumourier* united, more than any other General produced by the Revolution, the kind of ſpirit, the manners, the jargon, the talents, and the means beſt calculated to make the moſt of the ſort of men of whom the French army was then compoſed. He made his ſoldiers both love and fear him; he poſſeſſed their confidence, and in the end always made them obey him*. But even in the

* The French army having been for two days in want of bread, *Dumourier* was told that the ſoldiers were murmuring at it. He went to the camp, where he heard ſome diſcontented expreſſions, on which he put on

the event of a complete victory, the King of Pruſſia's army could not prevent *Dumourier*'s retreating

on a ſevere look, and ſaid, "Where are theſe bad Citi-
"zens, ſo unmanly as not to be able to bear hunger?
"Let their arms and clothes be taken from them, and
"let them be ſent away; they are unworthy of ſharing
"with us the honour of ſaving the country. This day
"too you ſhall not have bread. Show yourſelves ſol-
"diers capable of overcoming every thing. No more
"murmuring. *Vive la Liberté!*" The whole camp began ſhouting *Vive la Liberté! Vive notre Pere!* and very cheerfully went without bread.

Seven battalions of thoſe Federates who had committed ſo many crimes at Châlons arrived at *Dumourier*'s camp on the ſame day with *Beurnonville*. They had declared that they would ſuffer no epaulettes or *Croix de St. Louis*, and that they would bring the Generals to their ſenſes. *Dumourier* advanced to the head of the line with all his Staff officers, and an eſcort of an hundred huſſars. He had made the Federates encamp ſeparately with ſome ſquadrons behind them and the artillery before. He addreſſed them thus: "You fellows, for I
"can neither call you citizens, nor ſoldiers, nor my
"lads, you ſee this artillery before you, and that
"cavalry behind you. You have diſgraced your-
"ſelves by crimes — I will ſuffer no aſſaſſins, no
"butchers here. I will have you cut to pieces on the
"ſlighteſt mutiny. If you correct yourſelves, if you
"follow the example of the brave army into which
"you have the honour of being admitted, you ſhall
"find in me a good father. I know that there are
"villains among you charged to inſtigate you
"to

retreating to Vitry, whither he had already ſent the heavy baggage. He would there paſs the Marne, and be able to form a new army by bodies from Vitry, Troyes, and Châlons; while the Pruſſian army, weakened by a bloody victory, by the continuation of the diſtemper, and by the neceſſity of leaving a great number of troops behind to protect its communications, would not be able to undertake any thing more, and would be continually decreaſing for want of reſources, in a barren and deſolated country. But, in the contrary event, ſuppoſing againſt all appearance, but not againſt all poſſibility, that the Pruſſian army were beaten, they would be obliged to return by the defiles of Grandpré, where they would run the riſk of being cut to pieces or made priſoners, and would have no retreat except behind La Chiers, between Luxemburg and Longwy, where all the country would arm againſt them.

I leave to thoſe who are more verſed than I

" to crimes; drive them away yourſelves, or denounce " them to me; I make you anſwerable for them." Theſe battalions, whom he afterwards viſited every day, behaved very well, diſplayed ſtill more patience than the others, and became very good troops.—See the Life of *Dumourier*, Book V. Chap. X.

am in the military art and in local knowl
to decide whether theſe objections were well
or ill founded; certain it is that they made an impreſſion on the King of Pruſſia. They muſt have made a ſtill greater one on the Duke of *Brunſwick*, who, as Generaliſſimo of the combined army, had to reconcile with his perſonal glory, the imperious duty of not expoſing to too great hazards the flower of the Pruſſian army, the King's perſon, the Princes his ſons, and the honour of his arms.

Another courſe preſented itſelf, which was to retreat immediately, before the roads became too bad and the ſeaſon was more advanced. The Pruſſian army thus returning to the Evechés, coming nearer to its reſources for ſubſiſtence, ſtill keeping poſſeſſion of the defiles which they had ſecured, and continuing to cover that of the Iſlettes, might very ſafely have undertaken the ſiege of Sedan, and of Montmedy. Had *Dumourier* reſolved to come to the relief of thoſe two fortreſſes, he would have been forced to ſeparate himſelf from *Kellerman*, and to leave a body ſufficiently ſtrong to cover Champagne, and his army thus weakened might the more eaſily have been beaten. The com-

bined army eſtabliſhing its winter-quarters in Lorraine, and taking the field in the ſpring with a greater force, would have accelerated the Counter-revolution with the more certainty, as the Duke of *Saxe-Teſchen* might alſo have obtained great ſucceſs in the Department of the North, which *Dumourier* had been obliged to leave without troops, in order to oppoſe the invaſion of Champagne.

This courſe was abſolutely a part of the plan of the methodical war to which the Duke of *Brunſwick* had always wiſhed to conform; but then this was going back, and the heroiſm of *Frederick William* revolted at the idea. His noble and generous impatience was no leſs averſe to the prolongation of the war, and of *Louis* XVI.'s captivity.

Before he came to a final determination, his Pruſſian Majeſty, preſuming that *Dumourier* ſerved the Revolutionary faction much leſs through ſentiment or principle than ambition, and that he would not heſitate to renounce them were he offered greater advantages than he could expect from the Revolution, endeavoured to open a ſecret negociation with him. On the 22d of September,

tember, *Kellerman* informed *Dumouriez* that Major-General *Heymann* had ſent to requeſt that Colonel *Manſtein*, the King of Pruſſia's Adjutant General might have a conference with him. *Dumourier* immediately went to his colleague's head-quarters, where he found thoſe two officers. The ſettling of a cartel for the exchange of priſoners between the French and Pruſſians was the oſtenſible object of this conference; but the ceſſation of diſorders in France, a general peace, the liberty of *Louis* XVI. and the re-eſtabliſhment of his authority, were the real points in view. This circumſtance gave *Dumourier* an opportunity of rendering the moſt important ſervices to his country, his King, and all Europe. Colonel *Manſtein* aſſured him on the part of the King of Pruſſia that he ſhould be ſupplied with all the aſſiſtance he could deſire. His anſwer was, that although he diſapproved of a part of what was paſſing in France, it was not for him to apply the remedy; that with reſpect to the war, it depended on the King of Pruſſia to put an end to it; that his army had only to retire to the frontiers and remain neuter, and that at preſent they muſt confine themſelves

ſelves to drawing up the cartel of exchange.

" We ſat down to table," ſays *Dumourier**, " and after dinner became very ſo-" ciable. Colonel *Manſtein* having then " explained himſelf more clearly, *Dumou-*" *rier* ſaid to him, *Colonel, you have told* " *me that I am eſteemed in the Pruſſian ar-*" *my: I ſhall think that it is no ſuch thing* " *if you perſiſt in propoſing things to me* " *that would diſgrace me. I wiſh to ſhow* " *my reſpect for the King of Pruſſia; I* " *wiſh to ſee you again and to cultivate* " *your friendſhip, therefore let us talk no* " *more of ſuch propoſals.* At this con-" ference it was agreed, that Colonel *Man-*" *ſtein* ſhould go and dine next day with " the General. M. M. *Manſtein* and " *Heymann* propoſed that the firing ſhould " ceaſe in front of the camp. *Dumourier* " agreed that it was uſeleſs; and that very " evening a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities took " place in the front of the two armies."

This recital is not exact. The pretended inutility of the firing was not the reaſon of its ſuſpenſion, which was the reſult of a

* See his Life, Vol. III. page 166.

propoſition made by *Dumourier* to wait the return of a meſſenger to be ſent by him to Paris, with paſſports from the King of Pruſſia. It is true that this meſſenger never returned; it is even poſſible that he never went, and that the propoſal of ſending him was but a ſtratagem of war employed by the French General to procure an opportunity of making an advantageous change in the poſition of his troops, and to prepare for haraſſing the Pruſſian army in its retreat, which he already conſidered as inevitable*. However this be, he has entirely paſſed over the anecdote relative to this meſſenger in ſilence.

Colonel

* *Dumourier* took advantage of the time given him by this armiſtice to ſend General *Dubouquet*, with ſixteen battalions and two ſquadron of horſe, to Freſne, near Sommievre, General *Deſprés-Craſſier* with 2000 foot and 1000 horſe to Eſpenſe and Noirlieu, and Colonel *Trecheville* with eighteen ſquadron of light horſe to Sommievre, Herpont, and Moyon. He ordered General *d'Harville* to advance as far as St. Hilary. He diſpatched General *Neuilly* with cavalry and light infantry to Faucancourt and Autrecourt, to turn the foreſt of Argonne, and to haraſs the left wing and rear of the enemy. He formed for *Beurnonville* a vanguard for twenty-four battalions, and fifteen ſquadrons of horſe, which he poſted on the right bank of the Aiſne, with orders

Colonel *Manſtein* dined on the 24th with *Dumourier*, and told him, among other things, that the King of Pruſſia had no deſire to continue the war with France, or to interfere in its Conſtitution or Government. He put into his hands ſome propoſitions drawn up under ſix heads, the firſt of which required, that the King ſhould be at liberty, and be reſtored to his authority as it was fixed before the 10th of Auguſt. In anſwer to theſe propoſitions, which *Dumourier* himſelf acknowledged to be very moderate, he communicated to Colonel *Manſtein* the official diſpatch which he had juſt received, and which informed him of the decree that converted the French Monarchy into a Republic. Colonel *Manſtein* expreſſed his ſorrow for it to *Dumourier*, who ſeemed to ſympathiſe with him.

orders to advance as far as Cernon and Condé, to haraſs the convoys on the roads of Autry and Grand-champ; and he likewiſe ordered him to ſend forward ſome huſſars and light infantry as far as the old camp of Grand-pré acroſs the foreſt. *See the Life of Dumourier, Vol. III. page* 166. *Dumourier* had at that time near 70,000 men aſſembled, of which more than 12,000 were cavalry, according to the account given by the Miniſter of War to the Aſſembly in his letter on the 19th of September, read in the Sitting of the ſame day.

The cartel for the exchange of priſoners was ſettled at this ſecond conference. Colonel *Manſtein* required that the Emigrants ſhould be included in it, which was oppoſed by *Dumourier*, on the grounds *of the Emigrants being Frenchmen in arms againſt their country, making war in their own name, and with denominations of troops entirely French**. What a moment did this Revolutionary General take to cenſure the conduct of the Emigrants! Was not the cauſe of Religion, of the Monarchy, and of Royalty the true cauſe of the Country?

* He was not ſatisfied with excluding the Emigrants from the Cartel, he ſent the book of orders belonging to their army, which by an unfortunate accident had fallen into his hands, to the Miniſter *Servan*, charging him to tranſmit it to the Aſſembly. "They may look into it," ſaid he in his letter, "for the names of thoſe Chevaliers "who are as much deſpiſed in the Pruſſian as abhorred "in the French army." *See Dumourier's letter to the Miniſter, dated October 2, 1792, reported in the Moniteur of the 5th of the ſame month, page 1184, 2d column.* The Convention decreed that this book of orders ſhould be endorſed and marked on each page, and that Commiſſioners ſhould draw out a ſtatement of the names of the Emigrants contained in it, the liſt of which ſhould be printed, made public, and ſent to the Municipalities. *Decree of October 4th, 1792. Dumourier* may be conſidered then as the author of the liſt of Emigrants.

Was

Was not combating the horrible anarchy and bloody tyranny to which it was a prey, the moſt ſignal ſervice they could render it?

What, on the other hand, was the cauſe which *Dumourier* defended? Was it not that of traitors, of perjured men, of villains, who not content with having dethroned and loaded with fetters the Monarch to whom they had ſworn, as he had done, to be faithful, had annihilated that very Conſtitution which they had ſworn, as he had done, to maintain or die? If, more faithful to honour and to ſo many oaths, *Dumourier* had reſolved to employ the aſcendency he had gained over his ſoldiers, to rouſe and direct their patriotiſm; if, exciting and exalting the ſentiment of their dignity, he had put them in mind that they were the ſoldiers of the nation, and not of a band of villains, who, in order to ſeize upon all the powers, had juſt overthrown the Conſtitution which the whole nation had adopted, and which all the armies had ſworn to maintain, it is more than probable that the one under his command would not have heſitated to follow him to Paris; that at his approach the Convention, the Jacobins, and the brigands would have diſappeared;

peared; that he would have entered the Capital without ſhedding a drop of blood, and have been there hailed the ſaviour of France. He would have broken the fetters of *Louis* XVI. raiſed his Throne, and re-eſtabliſhed his authority: the Conſtitution would have been reformed and improved without a ſhock by a new Aſſembly, compoſed of worthy men, equally prudent and intelligent; and the firſt uſe that the King would have made of his power, would have been to reward ſuch ſignal ſervices. *Dumourier* might have been Grand Conſtable of France, Prime Miniſter, loaded with honours, and he would have merited all. To what man did ever Fortune offer a more brilliant part? And how can any one, having underſtanding, great ambition, and energy, ſuffer to eſcape thoſe rare opportunities which promiſe much glory, whatever be the event, as it depends on the merit of the enterpriſe, and not on its ſucceſs. "Nothing ſo lowers a great man," ſays Cardinal *de Retz*, "as not to be exact in "ſeizing the deciſive moment of his repu-"tation; it is hardly ever miſſed, but the "better to ſeize that of his fortune, by which "he is generally doubly deceived." This obſer-

obſervation, confirmed by ſo many examples, was *Dumourier*'s influencing planet.

The cartel for the exchange of priſoners was drawn up, and the Emigrants excluded from it. The Pruſſians, Auſtrians, and Heſſians only were mentioned in it; and it was agreed that Colonel *Thouvenot* ſhould go and ſign it the next day at the King of Pruſſia's head-quarters. He was very well received there, and had a long converſation with the Marquis *de Lucchezini*, which was publiſhed a few days after in the newſpapers.

Dumourier having heard that the King of Pruſſia was in want of coffee and ſugar, took the liberty of ſending him twelve pounds; to which he added ſome fruit and white bread. His preſent was received, but he was told to ſend no more. The greateſt cordiality prevailed between the advanced poſts of the two armies, and the French ſhared their bread with the Pruſſians *.

Meanwhile the King of Pruſſia, finding that the negociation which he had opened with *Dumourier* was not attended with the iſſue he had expected, and that the Na-

* See the Life of *Dumourier*, Vol. III. p. 170.

tional

tional Convention had already decreed the abolition of the Monarchy, and proclaimed the Republic, his Majeſty thought it neceſſary to delay no longer taking a final determination; and he called a Council at Hans, to which the principal Generals of all the armies were ſummoned. General *Kalkreuth*, who ſpoke firſt, ſtated the bad condition of the cavalry, and obſerved, that to attack the French army, it would be neceſſary to march to the right and paſs the Auve, in order to come upon the left flank of the enemy; a movement that could not be made without ſtill farther endangering the communications, which were already but too much expoſed.

The Duke of *Brunſwick* and the other Pruſſian Generals urged the bad ſtate of the army, the difficulty of ſubſiſting them, the obſtructions thrown in the way of prompt movements and hazardous enterpriſes, and the imprudence and danger of expoſing to the uncertain iſſue of a battle an army ſo weakened by diſeaſe, and whoſe communication with Verdun, the only place from which they could obtain proviſions, was threatened.

The French Generals, and particularly Mareſchal

Mareſchal *de Broglio* and Mareſchal *de Caſtries*, oppoſed theſe objections with all the energy excited by the ſituation of the Royal Family, and an ardent deſire to fly to their relief. They had no doubt of the ſucceſs of a general engagement; and it was their opinion that it ought to take place as ſoon as poſſible, that they might march to Châlons, where they ſhould find immenſe ſupplies, by means of which the Pruſſian army would no longer be liable to be weakened by the ſeparation of numerous detachments to protect communications become uſeleſs. General *Clerfaye* ſupported this opinion.

The King of Pruſſia, animated by the ſame ſentiments, inclined ſo openly to this opinion, that at the breaking up of the conference, he ſpoke of fixing the 29th for the attack: it is certain at leaſt, that the news of it was carried to the Princes, and ſpread the livelieſt joy throughout their army. But *Frederic William* in the end adopted the opinion of the Duke of *Brunſwick* and the Pruſſian Generals; and at the moment when the armies expected to receive orders to march againſt the enemy, they were commanded to retreat. On the day before, the ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities was ſuddenly countermanded,

termanded, and the friendly communications broken off by *Dumourier* on the receipt of the manifeſto, or declaration, which the Duke of *Brunſwick* ſent to him by one of his Aid-de-camps *. *The Duke of Brunſwick*, ſaid he, *certainly takes me for a Burgomaſter of Amſterdam: tell him, that from this moment the truce is at an end, and that I gave the order for its ceaſing before you.*

The Princes, with their cavalry, left their cantonments on the 30th, and arrived, after a march of two days, at Vouziers, whence they advanced to Stenay. The Auſtrians and Pruſſians retreated beyond the Aiſne with the ſame expedition. The bad roads, and the treachery of the waggoners, occaſioned the loſs of many of the waggons, which were pillaged by the patriots and by the Pruſſians themſelves.

As ſoon as the firſt column of the army of the Princes was on the highway to Stenay, ſeveral bodies of French cavalry were ſeen coming out of the woods of Mont-Dieu, and ſpreading themſelves behind the hills, then ſuddenly ſending ſcouts

* See Appendix, No. XXXVI.

to the heights, ſome regiments of infantry appeared in view with two pieces of cannon, which they pointed on the column. The manœuvres ordered by Mareſchal *Broglio* at this moment were ſo executed, that thoſe random gunners were ſoon made to vaniſh, and the retreat of the Princes ſecured, notwithſtanding all the diſpoſitions which *Dumourier* had made *to haraſs their march, and to fall on their rear guard* *. They arrived at Stenay, where they fixed their head-quarters †.

* See Life of *Dumourier*, Vol. III. p. 177.

† They left it on the 8th of October, and arrived on the 12th at Arlon. Their infantry arrived there on the ſame day after the moſt laborious marches, and the greater part of their baggage pillaged or loſt. On the 16th MONSIEUR left Arlon at the head of the columns, and arrived on the 21ſt at the *Chateau de la Neuville*, three leagues from Liege. He there fixed his head-quarters, where the different columns of the army of the Princes ſucceſſively arrived. The diviſion commanded by the Duke *de Bourbon*, which, from the opening of the campaign, had been attached to the army of the Duke *de Saxe-Teſchen*, received orders to leave it and join the armies of the Princes. This junction was effected on the 13th of November, and ten days after their Royal Highneſſes had the pain of announcing to their army the order for their being diſbanded.

The

The retreat of the Pruſſians was made with the greateſt order, as *Dumourier* himſelf confeſſed. *The King never left his rearguard, where he perſonally diſtinguiſhed himſelf, evincing as much perſeverance as he had before diſplayed bravery in the battle of Valmy, where he was at the head of his columns:* but this unfortunate army might be traced by the dead bodies of men and horſes that were ſtrewed upon the road.

It was not yet too late to undertake the ſiege of Sedan; it was the Duke of *Brunſwick*'s intention, and General *Clerfaye* and the Prince *de Hohenloe* were already inſtructed to proceed to the operations, when the Duke *de Saxe-Teſchen* recalled General *Clerfaye*'s army, on receiving news that *Dumourier* was marching to the relief of Liſle; and a few days after the Landgrave of *Heſſe* recalled his troops to defend his own States, which were threatened by General *Cuſtine:* thus was the Duke of *Brunſwick* forced not only to renounce the plan of beſieging Sedan, but to evacuate, firſt, Verdun, and then Longwy, to go and recover Francfort, arreſt the progreſs of General *Cuſtine*,

Cuſtine, and ſave Coblentz and the territory of Trêves.

Such was the deplorable iſſue of this famous campaign, from which the allied Powers, the French Princes, and all the Royaliſts, expected ſuch favourable conſequences! And to what cauſe can we impute reverſes ſo unforeſeen, ſo incredible? This queſtion muſt be left for the future deciſion of Hiſtory: it will not be determined till the paſſions and party ſpirit, which never look but at the outſide of things, be ſufficiently allayed to give place to impartiality. In the firſt place, it is neceſſary to baniſh the chimerical and abſurd ſuppoſitions which, at the time, ignorance or malice obtruded on the public curioſity, as the motives for the Duke of *Brunſwick*'s retreat. The facts which I have related ſeem to me to prove ſufficiently that it had become indiſpenſable at the time it was determined upon. The pretended letter from *Louis* XVI. written from the Temple, to requeſt the retreat of the armies, never exiſted. This is aſcertained by *Clery*'s Journal. The courier from London, ſuppoſed to be charged with a ſimilar commiſſion, is a ſtill more improbable ſtory. England has been

often accuſed, and always without the leaſt proof, of encouraging the Revolutionary faction, which never had a more invariable or more formidable enemy than that country; but even ſuppoſing, againſt all truth, that in 1792 the Engliſh Government, ſwayed by politics ſo narrow and barbarous, had deſired a continuance of the troubles that agitated France, till ſhe was ſo weakened, that ſhe could no longer be a formidable rival; and that this motive had induced them to propoſe to the Duke of *Brunſwick*, or to the King of Pruſſia, to draw off his army, is it probable that that brave monarch, who daily expoſed his life like a common ſoldier, that he might have the glory of being the deliverer of *Louis* XVI. and of France, would not have rejected with indignation ſo ſcandalous a propoſition? Can it be imagined that the Duke of *Brunſwick* would have conſented to ſully the moſt honourable military career with ſo diſgraceful an action? As for the negociation opened with *Dumourier*, I have already ſtated the object of it; it certainly had no connection with the retreat of the Pruſſian army, and it cannot be better proved than by the manner in which the negociation

tion was broken off. There was the greater reaſon for hoping that it would ſucceed, as five months before, *Dumourier*, then in the Miniſtry, had ſent a perſon of the name of *Benoiſt*, formerly employed in the Police Office, to General *Heymann*, with a propoſal *to deliver up the King of France at any place that ſhould be agreed upon.* This propoſal was communicated to M. *de Biſchofswerder*, who, after taking the King of Pruſſia's orders, anſwered, that nothing could be done in the matter till the armies were on the frontiers of France. That time was arrived, and certainly it was not to be expected that *Dumourier*, when a General, ſhould conſider as *diſhonourable*, propoſals he had himſelf made when a Miniſter. It was more natural to preſume that he had been anxious to obtain the command, that he might be the more able to execute the plan he had conceived.

I ſhall ſay no more reſpecting the retreat of the Duke of *Brunſwick*; I believe I have ſufficiently proved that he was compelled to it by irreſiſtible neceſſity. There can therefore remain no reaſonable doubt as to his motives. It is not eaſy to point out all the cauſes to which the diſaſters of this

campaign are to be attributed: one of the principal, and perhaps the moſt fatal of the whole, was the extreme confidence of ſucceſs. It was imagined that the combined armies would meet with no reſiſtance; that all the fortreſſes would open their gates to them; that as ſoon as they had paſſed the frontiers, the Royaliſts, the malcontents, and French deſerters would join them by thouſands, and that they would find immenſe ſupplies and reſources in the country. So convinced was the Emperor of this, that he had not heſitated to reduce about 60,000 men of the number of troops he was to furniſh, and to ſend the others without heavy artillery. The neglect of the arrangements relative to proviſions and military ſupplies, the manifeſto with ridiculous threats, which was preferred to that propoſed by *Louis* XVI. through *Mallet-du-Pan*, and the delay of opening the campaign for more than two months, were the conſequences of the ſame illuſions. The days required for marching to Paris had been calculated, with a firm perſuaſion that there could be no obſtacle to ſtop the armies on the way.

Theſe firſt errors were the more ſerious, becauſe,

becauſe, had the Duke of *Brunſwick*'s army been prepared to enter France at the time when the outrages of the 20th of June excited a general indignation againſt the Jacobins, and againſt the Aſſembly; and had he announced by his manifeſto, *that the Powers, juſtly provoked to take up arms, by the factious who prevailed in France, had no intention whatever to make war againſt the country; that no idea of invaſion or of conqueſt had induced the march of their armies, which were deſtined to protect the worthy French, and enable them to prevent the King and his Family from being expoſed to freſh outrages from the brigands*; he might have gained the ſupport of the majority of the inhabitants of the Provinces through which he would have marched, and have everywhere ſecured abundant reſources. The French armies, too weak to have reſiſted, would have fled before him, and a great number of deſerters would have augmented his army, whoſe approach, concurring with M. *de la Fayette*'s conduct to the Legiſlative Body, would have ſpread a timely alarm throughout the Capital, and in all probability have decided the Counter-revolution. The miſ-

fortune of not having taken the advantage of ſo favourable an occaſion, might ſtill have been repaired, if the Duke of *Brunſwick* had had at his command 60,000 men more, with a ſufficient quantity of heavy artillery, and the military ſupplies he had required. He would not then have been obliged to wait nearly a month for the arrival of General *Clerfaye*, of the Heſſian troops, and of thoſe commanded by Prince *Hohenloe*. He would, on the contrary, have made himſelf maſter of all the fortreſſes before the 26th of Auguſt, and marched to Châlons, driving before him, or cutting to pieces *Dumouriers*'s little ill-conditioned army, which *Kellerman* and *Beurnonville* had not yet joined. Being maſter of that town, and of all the magazines of the French army kept there, the Duke of *Brunſwick* would have been able to march to Paris, where he would have arrived, without any obſtacle, in the beginning of September, with an immenſe army in the beſt condition *.

The French Princes and Emigrants have

* The conſtant rains and the dyſenteries, which cut off almoſt the half of this army, did not begin till after this period.

been

been accuſed, with great aſperity, of having cauſed all the diſaſters of this campaign, by deceiving the Powers, in reſpect to the diſpoſition of the country, with ſolemn aſſurances that were not ſupported, and with informations declared to be poſitive, but which the event proved to be unfounded. This charge is unjuſt. I was then in France, and no one had it more in his power to be exactly informed of the diſpoſition of the country. It is certain, that after the 10th of Auguſt the Aſſembly, governed and protected by the Commune of Paris, had no other adherents, no other ſupport in the Provinces, than the Jacobin Clubs and ſome thouſands of vagabonds and worthleſs fellows, who, under the denomination of *patriots* and *ſans-culottes*, were breaking open the priſons, pillaging property, and committing murder. The reſt of the nation, thunderſtruck at all the crimes that were perpetrated, ſaw with indignation the ſupreme authority and all the powers of Government in the hands of the vileſt rabble, and ſincerely wiſhed, not for a return of the abuſes, or even of all the inſtitutions of the old ſyſtem, but the re-eſtabliſhment of order and of the legitimate power of the King,

whoſe dreadful ſituation inſpired the greateſt intereſt in nineteen out of twenty of the inhabitants of the Provinces, and inclined them to revolt againſt the prevailing tyranny. There is no doubt, that if at that time the Princes and Emigrants, declaring, as they did, intentions conformable to the general wiſh, had appeared *at the head* of an army ſufficiently formidable to diſpel the fears of thoſe who ſhould ſupport them, they would have been joined every day by immenſe numbers of volunteers, and by a great part of the French troops of the line.

The Princes, therefore, by the information they gave, did not deceive the Powers, who muſt blame themſelves that the hopes they had formed upon it were not realiſed. It was not ſufficiently conſidered, that however favourable the diſpoſitions of the Royaliſts and malcontents of the Interior might be, they were ſtill more powerfully ſwayed by an extreme repugnance to ſecond in any manner the project, which it was imagined the Emperor and King of Pruſſia had in view, of impoſing a Government on France, and of diſmembering the country either by conqueſts, or by prevailing on *Louis* XVI. to cede ſome Provinces by way of indemnity

nity for the expences of the campaign, or as the price of his deliverance, and re-eſtabliſhment of his authority. This project, which all the Journals and Revolutionary pamphlets endeavoured to confirm, was indeed denied in the manifeſto publiſhed by the Duke of *Brunſwick*; but it is well known that that manifeſto created as little confidence as fear. Beſides, it was far leſs by words than by actions that thoſe apprehenſions were to be diſſipated: they would have been completely removed, if at the opening of the campaign the Princes had been ſeen the firſt entering France at the head of all the Emigrants, ſupported by 50,000 Pruſſian and Auſtrian auxiliaries, while they left on the frontiers an army of 100,000 men ready to fly to their aſſiſtance in caſe of neceſſity. This was unqueſtionably the ſureſt and moſt advantageous plan; and people of the beſt intentions in France thought that there could be no other reaſon for rejecting it, than becauſe the allied powers did not chooſe to confine themſelves to a ſecondary part. They might, at leaſt, without injuring their dignity, have compoſed the van-guard of their army with all the Emigrant corps, and employed them on

ſome

ſome important enterpriſe, ſupplying them with ſufficient means to ſucceed. It would then have been ſeen what would have been the effects of the joy and enthuſiaſm inſpired by the preſence of the Princes entering France with a powerful army, at the period when the Royal Family were ſent to priſon, and calling upon all the loyal French to follow them to Paris to ſave the King: every town would have followed the example of Longwy and Verdun.

This would have been the way to obtain a knowledge of the diſpoſition of the country, and to turn it to the greateſt advantage; but when, on the contrary, the 22,000 Emigrants who compoſed the army of the Princes were ſeen divided into three bodies; one ſent into the Briſgau under the command of the Prince *de Condé*, another to Ardenne under the command of the Duke *de Bourbon*, and the third commanded by MONSIEUR and the Count *d'Artois*, kept at a diſtance behind the combined army, and employed, or rather condemned to preſent to the world the ſtrange and ridiculous ſight of a ſiege undertaken without artillery, it was not doubted but that the unfortunate Emigrants were trifled with, and that the

Powers

wers were determined to ſacrifice them. And how could this opinion but prevail, when it was ſeen with what an unmanly and diſguſting readineſs Colonel *Manſtein*, who was charged to negociate with *Dumourier* an exchange of priſoners, conſented to exclude the Emigrants from the cartel! From that moment the Powers, and particularly Auſtria, were ſuſpected of the moſt intereſted and ambitious views; and the effect of that ſuſpicion, more or leſs founded, was not only to deſtroy the good diſpoſition which the combined army would have found in the country, but to make all intereſts yield to that of repelling the invaſion, and to unite almoſt all the parties in the cauſe of the factious.

Another great error was preventing MONSIEUR, when he entered France, from declaring himſelf Regent of the kingdom during the captivity of the King and Royal Family. That was a right of which he could no more be deprived than of his title to the Throne, next in ſucceſſion to the Dauphin; he was therefore authorized to exerciſe it, notwithſtanding any oppoſition whatever; and the impriſonment of their Majeſties and the welfare of the State impoſed it upon

him as a duty. The Baron *de Breteuil* intended to be charged to oppose it, founded this pretenſion on the powers which I have already proved were revoked. But had they been ſtill in force, they would evidently have been inapplicable to exiſting circumſtances; for the captivity of the King and of his Family had not certainly been foreſeen when they were granted. Beſides, his Majeſty himſelf could no more have deprived his brother of the rights which devolved upon him on the captivity of the Royal Family, than he could by his will have diſpoſſeſſed him of his rights to the Crown after the death of the Dauphin. What influence, what ſubmiſſion, what reſpect, would not MONSIEUR have obtained, as Regent of the kingdom, lawfully inveſted by that title with all the rights of Royalty, and plenitude of the Executive Power, and exerciſing them with energy and with wiſdom at the head of a powerful army! It is now no longer doubted, that whoever counſelled the Emperor and King of Pruſſia not to acknowledge the rights of MONSIEUR to the Regency, gave them either the moſt fooliſh or the moſt perfidious advice.

In

In ſhort, had any political motives whatever determined the Powers to diſdain or to neglect ſo imprudently the advantages that would have been ſecured to them in the interior of France by the intervention of the French Princes at the head of the *Emigrant* corps, if they had been employed as they ought to have been, they ſhould at leaſt have purſued the methodical plan of war propoſed by the Duke of *Brunſwick*, and have furniſhed him with all the means which he had declared to be neceſſary for ſupporting it with ſucceſs. His plan, it is true, had been adopted; but neither artillery nor the number of troops he had demanded to execute it were given to him. The diſaſters which were the conſequence of it are well known, and I entirely ſubmit my obſervations on their cauſes to thoſe perſons who had it in their power to receive better information than I had. Reſpecting the political meaſures that marked this period, I ſhall only add, that the partition of Poland was the moſt treacherous, the moſt inconſiſtent, and, at the ſame time, the moſt fatal of all; for it became the chief ſource of the misfortunes which ſucceeded the campaign of 1792. How was Europe ſcandalized

lized in beholding the very Powers who [illegible] coaleſced to re-eſtabliſh one King upon [illegible] Throne, coaleſcing alſo to dethrone another, and divide his territories! What a triumph for the Jacobins, and for their principles! What blindneſs, what immorality on the part of certain Cabinets!

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

D. N. SHURY, PRINTER, BERICK STREET.

A. Marche de l'Armée Prussienne, après la réduction de Longwy, du Camp de Pyremont, sur Verdun — B. Marche de corps de Troupes Autrichiennes, aux Ordres de M. le Général du Camp de Pyremont, sur Verdun — C. Marche de l'Armée Prussienne de Verdun, au Camp de Maucancourt, et de Landres — D. Marche de M. le Général du Camp de Deux à celui de Rampont — E. Marche de M. le Général du Camp de Rampont à celui de Mars — F. Position du Pr. de Hohenlohe avec sa Division, à St Menehould, aux environs de Clermont — G. Mouvement de Corps de Pyremont, du Camp de Sedan, à celui de Grandpré, pour le Mars — H. Armée de Kellermann, du Camp de Metz à Valmy — I. Mouvement de l'Armée de Dumouriez, du Camp de Sedan, à celui de Grandpré, pour le Mars — K. Armée Républicaine, le jour de la Canonade de Valmy — M. Position de l'Armée Républicaine, après la Canonade de Valmy — N. Position de l'Armée Coalisée, après la Canonade de Valmy — O. Positions des Corps Séparés de l'Armée Française aux Islettes, et à Sainte, et à Pomme de Chalons — P. Position du Général Oliver Wallis, Autrichien, pour observer Metz.

CARTE

Historique de la Campagne

DES ARMEES COALISÉES

Sous les Ordres du DUC de BRUNSWICK.

En 1792.

SEDAN
Carignan
Mouzon
Laferté
LUXEMBOURG
LONGWY
MONTMEDY
Chesne Populeux
Beaumont
Mouzon
Marville
Tercelet
Attigny
Vouziers
DUN
Damvillers
THIONVILLE
Machault
Sainpuy
Auby
Varennes
Etain
Vienne le Chateau
FERDUN
METZ
Suippe
Fresne
Gorze
St Menehould
Clermont
Ville
Post
Mauzon
CHALONS
St Mihiel
Revigny
Bar
Dun

Echelle de trois Toises

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